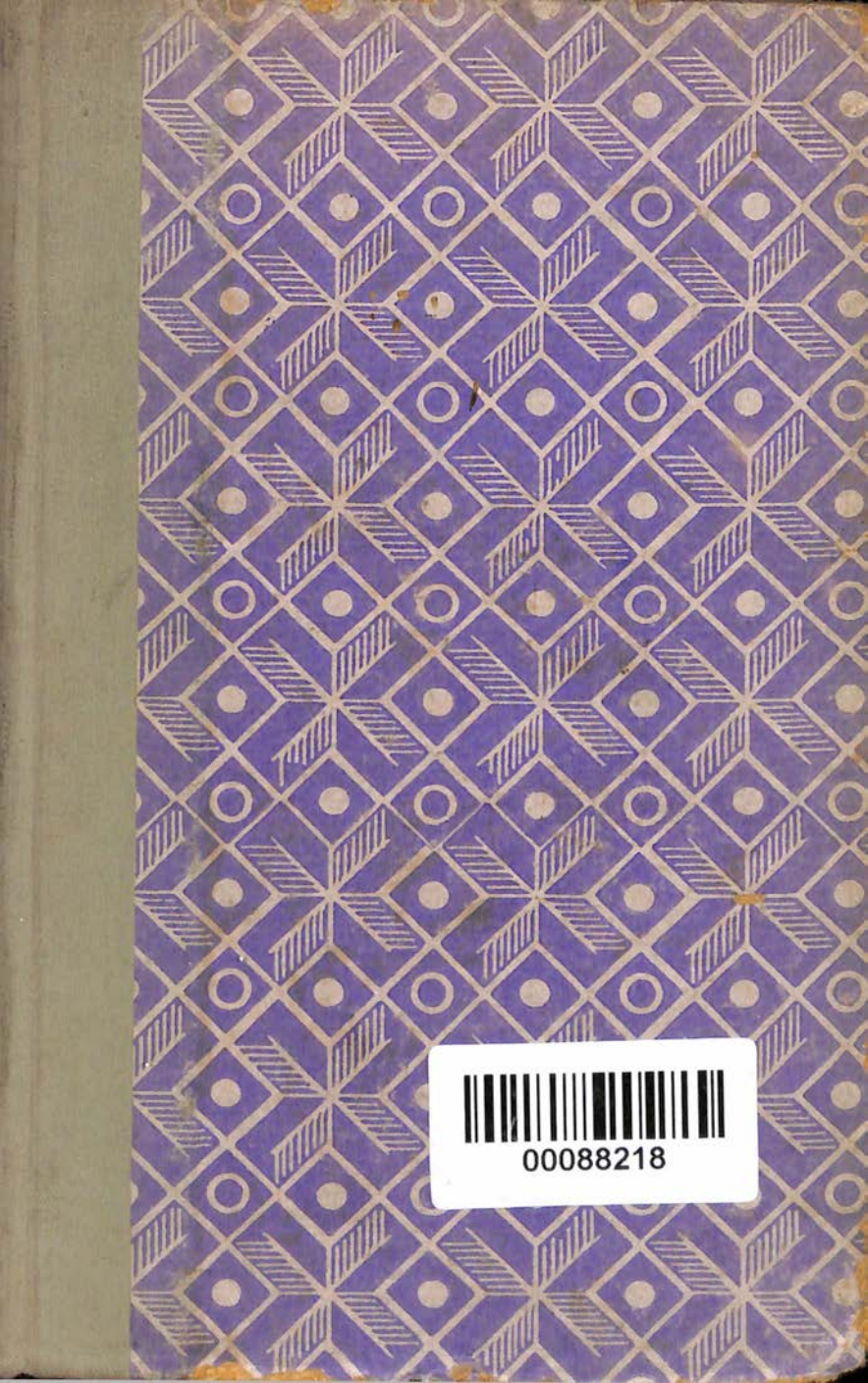
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AN

AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT

OF

AN EMBASSY

FROM

THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA;

INCLUDING

CURSORY OBSERVATIONS MADE, AND INFORMATION OBTAINED, IN TRAVELLING THROUGH THAT ANCIENT EMPIRE, AND A SMALL PART OF CHINESE TARTARY.

TOGETHER WITH A RELATION OF THE

VOYAGE UNDERTAKEN ON THE OCCASION BY HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP THE LION, AND THE SHIP HINDOSTAN, IN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE, TO THE YELLOW SEA, AND GULF OF PEKIN; AS WELL AS OF THEIR RETURN TO EUROPE;

WITH NOTICES OF

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The several places where they stopped in their way out and home; being the Islands of Madeira, Teneriffe, and St. Jago; the Port of Rio de Janeiro in South America; the Islands of St. Helena, Tristan d'Acunha, and Amsterdam; the Coasts of Java, and Sumatra, the Nanka Isles, Pulo-Condore, and Cochin-china.

TAKEN CHIEFLY FROM THE PAPERS OF

HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF MACARTNEY, Knight of the Bath, His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of China; Sir ERASMUS GOWER, Commander of the Expedition, and of other Gentlemen in the several departments of the Embassy.

BY SIR GEORGE STAUNTON, BARONET,

Honorary Doctor of Laws of the University of Oxford, Fellow of the Royal Society of London, his Majesty's Secretary of Embassy to the Emperor of China, and Minister Plenipotentiary in the absence of the Embassador.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

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PROVINCE OF KIANG NAN
PROVINCE OF
KIANG SEE
PROVINCE OF
FOO TCHEEN
PROVINCE OF
QUANG TUNG
STRAIT OF FORMOSA

EMBASSY TO CHINA.

CHAPTER I.

PASSAGE TO THE LADRONE ISLANDS, NEAR MACAO; AND THENCE TO CHU-SAN. TRANSACTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS THERE.

From Cochin-china to the Chinese coast, the passage, when the south-west monsoon has regularly set in, is generally short and easy. The expectation of coming soon in sight of a country, which was the object of so long a voyage, rendered the passengers still more impatient to get to the place of their destination than they had been when much farther removed from it.

The port of Tien-sing, where the Embassador meant to land, was, however, yet at a considerable distance. It was intended previously to touch at one of the Ladrone islands, opposite to Macao, for the purpose of sending letters to Europe by any conveyance from that settlement, or Canton; but more particularly to receive any intelligence which might be interesting to the

Embassy, as well as to get pilots, if any were to be found in that neighbourhood, for the Yellow sea, of which the navigation was entirely unknown to Europeans. This was not the case with regard to the track between Cochin-china and Macao; and therefore no pilots had been required from thence; however few accurate accounts had hitherto been published of the navigation, either through that track, or from thence to the Chu-san islands.

The mountain of Tien-cha, or of new Gibraltar, which forms the harbour of Turon, had prevented the ships, lying under it, from feeling much of the effect of the sea breeze. They waited, therefore, on the day of their departure, for the land wind, which always rises there in the afternoon. Its direction was from south by east to south-south-east, and it drove them above one hundred miles from Turon in the course of the first twenty-four hours. In that space it was found that a current had run in a direction north sixty-seven degrees west about thirty miles, or one mile and a quarter in every hour. Such a current there, at this time, was naturally to be expected. The tide flows from the eastward towards the shores of Cochin-china between the Paracels, mentioned in the last chapter, and a

large island called Hai-nan. As the water, returning from those shores, is too weak to counteract the constant eastern tide, it is forced along the inward trending coast, towards the northward, into the gulf of Tung-quin; from whence there is no outlet, except a narrow passage formed between Hai-nan and a long neck of land jetting from the continent of China. This passage being directly open to the east, the water brought by the constant eastern tide is thus hemmed into a gulf; and accumulating in vast quantities, occasions very high tides, and that irregularity to which Sir Isaac Newton has adverted in his works.

In the second day's course there appeared to be a small set by a current about eight miles north-east, caused, probably, by the reflux of the sea from the eastern coast of Hai-nan, to which the ships were opposite at noon.

On the third day, the nineteenth of June, a current set from the eastward thirteen miles, which might be produced by the influx of the tide through the neighbouring straits of Hai-nan, across the mouth of which the squadron passed that day.

On the twentieth of June were seen a high peaked island, called by Europeans the Grand

Ladrone, and another near it, whose summit is more level and somewhat lower than the former; and the same day brought also the main land of China into sight, bearing north-north-east. Tho it was at such a distance as to prevent distinguishing more than that the land was high and of an unequal surface, having otherwise nothing peculiar in its appearance; yet even this distant prospect left a cheerful impression on the mind; as if a point were gained that made an era in the history of the voyage.

On the twenty-first of June the ships came to anchor under the lee of another of the Ladrones, called Chook-choo, in twelve fathoms water, the bottom muddy; the Grand Ladrone bearing west-south-west, distant three leagues, and Chook-choo south by west, three miles. The latitude of the Grand Ladrone was found to be twenty-one degrees fifty-two minutes north, and the longitude one hundred and thirteen degrees thirty-six minutes east of Greenwich. The latitude of Chook-choo was twenty-one degrees fifty-five minutes north, and its longitude one hundred and thirteen degrees forty-four minutes east. These longitudes are a few miles less easterly than the situation in which those islands are generally supposed to lie; but being deduced from a time-

keeper that had been found to agree within a very few minutes of longitude, with the mean of several lunar observations, taken two days before, it is presumed they are nearly correct.

The margins, or rocks of the Ladrone islands next the sea, are of a black, or dark brown colour, owing to the action of the salt water. The spray and dashing of the waves upon them have corroded their surface in many parts, so as to give them an honeycombed appearance. There are some springs to be found upon those islands. The water is not brackish, nor has it any chalybeate, or other mineral, taste. The soil upon the surface appears to be of the same nature with the component parts of the rocks below, and indeed is nothing else than the upper layer of the rock, decomposed and pulverized by the joint action of the sun and rain in the succession of ages. The rock consists of a mixture of clay, calx of iron in a small proportion, and a great deal of siliceous earth and mica. The sea all round is of a dirty yellowish muddy colour, and of no great depth. The bottom is mud and clay.

The Ladrones, and clusters of islands between them and the southern extremity of China, are so near to each other and to the main land, and are also so broken, as well as so irregular in

their form and position, as to appear like fragments, disjointed from the continent, and one from the other, at remote periods, by the successive violence of mighty torrents, or in some sudden convulsions of nature. Those fragments have now a very barren and unpromising aspect. In particular spots, indeed, there are some scattered patches of pleasing verdure; but, in general, little better than naked rocks appear; and scarcely a tree or shrub is visible amongst them. Those islands serve chiefly as retreats for pirates, and for the temporary abode of fishermen.

Sir Erasmus Gower observes, that "all the "islands to the eastward of the Grand Ladrone "are steeper than those to the westward. The "former are high and uneven, and the depth of "water among them is about twenty fathoms. "The latter are tolerably even, and, taken to-"gether, appear like a continued land; and the "water among them is shoaler than among the "former."

The squadron being now upon the confines of China, and the Embassador about to send messengers to Macao, application was made to his Excellency by two native Chinese, who had been companions of the interpreters, and to whom his Excellency had granted a passage in the Hin-

dostan, that they might be taken ashore by the same opportunity. They had conducted themselves throughout the voyage with great propriety. One of them, who was uncommonly expert in writing the Chinese characters, had usefully assisted in the translation of papers into that language, preparatory to the Embassador's arrival in China. His Excellency wished to make him a compensation for his trouble; but, tho he had no means of subsistence beside a very scanty allowance from Rome, no efforts were able to persuade him to accept money or presents of any kind. He considered himself as under much obligation, not only for the opportunity given him of returning to his country, but for the civilities shewn to him during the voyage. He felt both gratitude and esteem for the English nation; and ample justice would be done to its character in China, were his opinions on the subject universally adopted by his countrymen.

One of the interpreters wished also at this time to retire from the service of the Embassy. He began to be extremely apprehensive of being noticed by the Chinese government, in case he continued with the Embassador, as, by the laws of the country, he was liable to punishment, both for having left it without permission, and

afterwards for accepting an employment from a foreigner. A greater firmness of mind enabled his companion, the other Chinese interpreter, tho exactly in the same predicament, to adopt a very different determination. The latter considered himself as having entered into an engagement to accompany the Embassy throughout, and was not to be deterred from what he once had undertaken, by subsequent reflections upon the danger that might attend it. There was reason, indeed, to hope that the Embassador would be able to protect him, should it even be discovered that he had been born within the confines of the Chinese territories. He was a native of a part of Tartary annexed to China, and had not those features which denote a perfect Chinese origin; but his name having a signification in the language of that country, he changed it for one which bore the same meaning in English. He put on an English military uniform, and wore a sword and a cockade. He thought it right to take those precautions for his safety; but was prepared for any event that might take place, without being in the least disturbed about what it might be.

The other three Chinese embarked aboard the brigs for Macao, together with the persons who were sent by the Embassador for the purposes

already mentioned. Dispatches from the government general of the Dutch East India settlements, to their resident in China, containing orders for his co-operation with the views of the British Embassy, were forwarded to him likewise at this time, as well as letters to the same effect from the cardinal prefect of the congregation for propagating the faith at Rome, to the procurator of the missions residing at Macao. The English factory was still also residing at that place, as none of the ships from Europe had yet arrived, that season, in the river of Canton.

Through the English East India Company's commissioners, the Embassador had information that, " his Imperial Majesty's disposition to " afford a reception to the Embassy, suitable to " its dignity, had not suffered the least diminu- " tion, as appeared by his repeated instructions " on this subject to the different governments " upon the coast. He had given orders for Man- " darines to await his Excellency's arrival, and " pilots to be properly stationed to take charge " of his Majesty's ships, and to conduct them in " safety to Tien-sing, as well as to prepare for " receiving the Embassador, and conveying him " and his suite, to Pekin: concluding his com- " mands with these remarkable works, *that as a*

" *great Mandarine had come so far to visit him, he* " *must be received in a distinguished manner, and* " *answerable to the occasion.*"

The commissioners, who knew with how different a spirit foreigners were received and treated at Canton, entertained no doubt that " the go- " verning officers of that place had thrown a veil " over the disposition and intentions of the Em- " peror towards Europeans, and that nothing was " so much wanting, or would be of such singular " advantage to the East India Company, as a " free and immediate communication between " their servants and the court of Pekin, should " an opening offer for obtaining it in the course " of his Excellency's negotiations. The Embassy " did not, certainly, appear to be agreeable to " some of the officers of the government of Can- " ton, who were perhaps apprehensive of its " consequences to themselves. The motives " which gave rise to the Embassy had been an- " xiously inquired into by them; and particu- " larly by the Hoppo, or chief officer of the " revenue, and inspector of foreign trade there, " whose consciousness of having merited repre- " hension for well known acts of his office, al- " ways connected in his mind the subject of " complaint with the views of the Embassy.

"The commissioners had no doubt of every engine having been set to work by him, to prevent the success of their proceedings with regard to it; and when he found a flaw in their commission, by their not having been deputed directly from the King of Great Britain, but being merely representatives of the East India Company, he did not let slip the occasion to perplex and oppose them by every artifice in his power."

The Foo-yen, or Governor of Canton, was likewise still solicitous to discover the private objects of the Embassy; and aware that some of them might relate to persons from whom the commissioners would wish them to be concealed at this early period, he gave assurances to the commissioners that, "if they should disclose them to him, he would confine the matter within his own breast, and that of the Emperor." The commissioners very properly replied that "they were ignorant of any views beside those which obviously occurred of paying a just compliment to his Imperial Majesty, and of cultivating his friendship; but that if there were any other, they were undoubtedly confided to the Embassador alone."

It was perhaps in the hope of penetrating into

those supposed intentions, and, if any such there were, of obstructing the progress of the Embassy, that the commissioners were repeatedly urged to write to the Embassador to stop at Canton, where all foreign vessels came, instead of proceeding to Tien-sing. And this was pressed with so much earnestness, that the commissioners found it insufficient for them to observe that "it "was neither their province to advise, or per- "haps in the Embassador's power to admit of, "a deviation from the orders he had received "upon that subject;" and they thought it prudent to declare the utter improbability that any vessel, which might be dispatched from Canton for such a purpose, could fall in with the squadron having his Excellency on board. They were, indeed, after such a declaration, precluded from applying for pilots to go in search of the squadron, from the southern extremity of China; and therefore "requested only that such should be in "readiness at the port of Chu-san, in the pro- "vince of Che-kiang, and at that of Ning-hai, "in the province of Shan-tung, both on the "eastern coast of the empire. It was probable "also that pilots from those ports would be better "acquainted with the route to the gulf of Pekin "than those residing at a greater distance. It hap-

" pened also that Chu-san, the port first men-
" tioned, had in former times been visited by
" the Company's ships, and could not easily be
" missed. Neither was it unlikely that the ex-
" pedition, if not the success of the enterprize,
" would be secured by adopting that mode, in-
" stead of bringing pilots to Canton, where their
" integrity might be exposed to the influence and
" intrigues of persons avowedly adverse to the
" Embassy."

Notwithstanding the jealousy entertained by the other European factories, " some of them, " the Dutch in particular, had already, since the " notification of the Embassy, availed them-
" selves of the new influence of the English, to
" escape the usual impositions laid on foreigners,
" removing from Canton to Macao. Such was,
" indeed, the impression made by that notifica-
" tion, on the officers of government at Canton,
" that several new impositions which had been
" attempted by the Hoppo, in the article of cus-
" toms, since the arrival of the commissioners
" there, were immediately waved on their re-
" solute denial, without the usual inconvenience
" of a delay in the shipping of teas. The com-
" plaints, which the Hoppo suspected were to
" be preferred against him, had produced of late,

"on his part very extraordinary instances of "civility and forbearance." It was perceptible likewise, that the native agents and servants of the English factory felt themselves on firmer ground than formerly, and began to assert, without fear, the rights of their employers against the vexations to which they had hitherto been in the habit of submitting. This was an advantage arising from the fact, independently of the result, of the Embassy, and implying a conviction, that there was now a channel open, by which remonstrances against oppression might find an easy way to the Imperial throne.

The governor of Canton had been anxious to receive from the commissioners, a list of the presents which the Embassador had in charge to deliver to the Emperor; and it appeared that no small curiosity had been excited about them at the court of Pekin; which the governor was desirous of having the means to gratify. He had made it a necessary condition; alleging that "he "could not send the letter announcing the Em- "bassador's approach, with an offering to his "master, without transmitting the particulars "of it." The commissioners gave all the satisfaction they were able, in regard to what the Embassador was to bring with him; and ac-

counted for their imperfect knowledge of the subject, from the circumstance of their having left England before many of the presents were provided. The importance which appeared to be thus attached to the nature of the presents, must be supposed to proceed not so much from avidity of gain, on the part of the great monarch for whom they were intended, as from the inference to be drawn from their rarity and value, with regard to the degree of consideration and respect in which he was held by the prince who sent them, in this first instance of a direct communication between the two sovereigns. The specimens of the arts and ingenuity of Europe, which had reached Pekin by other means, were sufficient to convey a very exalted idea of what might be expected from thence on extraordinary occasions.

The Embassador was informed also by the commissioners that "two of the native mer-"chants of Canton had been ordered to hold "themselves in readiness to proceed to any part "of the coast, on the report of his Majesty's "ships being arrived there with the Embassador, "and in all probability to accompany his Ex-"cellency to court." It was supposed that they were intended to serve as interpreters, as well as

to treat for any goods which might be sent with the Embassador for sale; but the commissioners being of opinion that, "the great concerns which "those merchants had with the Company, might "be materially injured by their absence," petitioned the government not to remove them from their business, adding, "that the Embas-"sador was already sufficiently provided with "interpreters, and that the Company had sent "no goods for sale in the ship which attended "the Embassy, as she was chiefly laden with the "presents for the Emperor." These merchants, indeed, beside being but very imperfectly qualified as interpreters, were too great gainers by the connection, as it now stood, with foreigners at Canton, to be fond of furthering a measure from whence they might apprehend a change; and, on the same account, they might even join in any intrigue against it at Pekin. It happened likewise that the journey, at that time, would have been attended with considerable injury to their private affairs. They aided, therefore, the petition presented in their favour, by no inconsiderable presents to some of the officers of the government of Canton; and they were excused from leaving home.

On occasion of former embassies, one of the

missionaries dependent on the palace had been sometimes sent from thence to meet the Embassador and attend him to court: but a change of system, with respect to them, had lately taken place. For two or three years past, since the first accounts of the confusions in France, and the dissemination of principles subversive of tranquillity in government, were received at Pekin, the dread lest such principles should find their way into the East, had occasioned precautions to be taken against their introduction. Tho no determination was made to exclude foreigners from Canton, restrictions upon their conduct were enforced with redoubled vigilance; and tho missionaries were received in China, and even, as astronomers and artists, encouraged in the capital, their correspondence, from whatever part of Europe, was henceforward intercepted, in order to be examined; and tho no set of men could feel a greater horror of the revolution and subsequent anarchy, in the course of which, indeed, those funds in France, from whence stipends had been regularly remitted to them, were seized by the democratic rulers of the state; yet were they now, in some degree, mistrusted by the jealous and cautious government of China.

The preference, therefore, on the present oc-

casion of communicating with foreigners, was naturally given by the Chinese to their own subjects. The Portugueze, indeed, of the dependent settlement of Macao, were, in some degree, considered in that light. The intimate connection, on the other hand, subsisting for a long time between that nation and the English, naturally led the latter to expect every friendly assistance from the former. But by the intelligence the Embassador received at this time, through an unquestionable channel, it appeared that their ancient policy, of endeavouring to exclude all other foreigners from China, still continued in its full force; and his Excellency had, at least, the early advantage of being thus apprized, that he was to depend chiefly upon the impression which his own conduct and that of his suite would make upon the Chinese, for removing any prejudices against the nation he went to represent, as well as for overcoming the difficulties that might be thrown in his way during his residence in the country.

Soon after the return of the brigs from Macao, on the twenty-third of June the squadron weighed chor from Chook-choo, and proceeded with a favourable gale towards the straits which divide the continent of China from the great island of

Formosa, as it is generally termed by Europeans, but which among the natives, as well as the Chinese, is called Tai-wan. The same day the squadron passed between two small islands, one called Asses' Ears, from its forked aspect, the other termed Lema, both of them barren and uncultivated, and surrounded by large rocks, appearing above the surface of the sea. Those rocks, as well as the islands, seemed to be composed of solid granite. The situations of the islands, ascertained by meridional observations, and by the mean of several time-keepers, are,

Lat. of	The Asses' Ears	21°	55′	north.
	Lema -	22	0	
Long. of	The Asses' Ears	114°	7′	east.
	Lema -	114	17	

The next day, the twenty-fourth of June, a large elevated rock came in sight. It is perfectly white, and, on that account, is called *Pedra Branca* by the Portugueze, who having been the first European navigators in these seas, many of their names were adopted by their successors. The latitude of Pedra Branca is twenty-two degrees nineteen minutes north, and its longitude one hundred and fourteen degrees fifty-seven minutes east. Fahrenheit's thermometer at noon stood at eighty-four degrees, and the barometer at twenty-nine inches, seventy-three decimal

parts. A current appeared to have set north by east during the last twenty-four hours, at the rate of about a mile an hour.

In the course of the next day, June twenty-fifth, the squadron crossed the tropic of Cancer; and the setting of the sun, that evening, was attended with an unusual degree of redness in the firmament. The quicksilver sunk suddenly in the barometer, and the wind increased to a fresh gale from the south-west. The next morning, still the twenty-fifth of June, according to the mode of reckoning time at sea from noon to noon, was ushered in with heavy squalls, rain, thunder, and lightning. Before noon it was almost calm; but the sea remained agitated for some time. The thermometer stood at eighty-two degrees, and the barometer at twenty-nine inches, sixty-three decimal parts.

The twenty-sixth of June was squally accompanied by dreadful thunder, lightning, and almost incessant rain. The wind varied gradually from the south-east to south by west. The weather was so thick and cloudy that no observation could be taken the whole day; nor could the continent of China be distinguished, tho the squadron was now in the narrowest part of the strait between it and Formosa, and not distant

from either much above ten leagues; and the land of both is so high, that, in clear weather, one can be seen from the other. The north-west part of Formosa was indeed perceived this day, for a few minutes, a little after sunrise, bearing from south-east by east to south.

In rainy weather the Chinese sailors change their cotton clothes for jackets and trowsers, composed of reeds unbent and uncompressed, lying close and parallel to each other, together with large slouched hats of the same material, over the exterior surface of all which the rain slides off, as over the feathers of aquatic birds. This coarse but convenient covering very much resembles the dress worn, under similar circumstances, by the natives of the north-west coast of America. Tho it be possible that some original connection between the two countries, enabled the one to borrow from the other, it appears more probable that the same wants suggested to both the same contrivance.

If tolerable good weather might at any season be expected in this strait, it was most likely to be found in the height of summer, and about the middle of the monsoon; but from the situation and direction of the strait, it is probable that moderate weather seldom prevails in it; for as it

lies in a line with the north-east and south-west points of the compass, and is bounded on each side by ranges of mountains running in the same direction, the effect of the monsoons is increased by the compression which the air undergoes in passing through this narrow channel, which stands open, like a funnel, to receive it from the two points whence the monsoons regularly blow. The currents, as might be expected, are found, invariably, to set with the monsoon; so that it may be considered as scarcely practicable for ships to work up against it. In the manuscript journal of the passage of the Argonaut through the strait of Formosa, towards the latter end of April, 1789, the title imports that it was "against the north-east monsoon;" but it appears from the journal itself, that the monsoon was then breaking up, the winds blowing from all points of the compass, and as often for, as against, that vessel's intended course. Her small size, moreover, enabled her to run within many of the islands that lie off the coast of China, where she anchored from time to time, as occasion required.

The squadron continued to have squally weather, chiefly from the westward, on the twenty-seventh of June, with almost continued heavy rain, and a cross confused swell of the sea. In

the night the wind was variable. Toward the latter part it blew chiefly from the northward. The latitude by the reckoning differed sixteen miles from the observation at noon; and the longitude, by the chronometer, was fifty miles to the eastward of that by account; whence it was inferred that the current had run, within these three last days, forty-eight miles in the direction of north seventy degrees east, or at the rate of two-thirds of a mile in every hour. The thermometer at noon was at seventy-nine degrees; and the barometer at twenty-nine inches, seventy-three decimal parts.

During the twenty-eighth of June the wind was moderate and variable, chiefly blowing from northerly points: a cross and heavy swell setting easterly. As soon as the squadron had cleared, or passed beyond the strait, a current, setting to the westward, seemed to run against the heave of the sea, at the rate of upwards of half a mile an hour. The weather being now apparently more settled, the squadron made sail for the islands lying off Chu-san.

On the twenty-ninth the weather was hazy and unpleasant. The soundings decreased from fifty-two to twenty-two fathoms. A cluster of islands came in sight, called the Hey-san or

Black islands, being little more than naked rocks. Their latitude is twenty-eight degrees fifty-three minutes north, and longitude one hundred and twenty-one degrees twenty-four minutes east. This cluster of islands lies a very few miles distant from the continent of China.

On the thirtieth the weather was thick and muddy, with moderate breezes from the south-west. In steering to the northward, the soundings increased regularly from twenty-two to thirty-two fathoms.

During the whole of the first of July the weather was thick and drizzling. The wind varied from south-west to south. Another cluster of islands were now observed called the Que-san islands, close to which the squadron approached the next day, the second of July, and anchored in nine fathoms water, muddy bottom; the highest and most southern of those islands bearing north by west four miles. This island, called by the English Patchcock, is in latitude twenty-nine degrees twenty-two minutes north, and longitude, by chronometer, one hundred and twenty-one degrees fifty-two minutes east.

On the following morning, which was the latter part of the nautical day, the squadron weighed anchor, in order to stand in nearer to

Chu-san, which they had some difficulty in effecting, on account of a vast number of Chinese boats of different sizes crowding round them: the novelty of European vessels having excited the most eager curiosity in the people of those boats. Above three hundred were reckoned about the Lion, wedged, as it were, one within another. Thousands were within sight, many employed in fishing; many of a larger size in carrying timber of different dimensions, and for various uses, as well as other articles of merchandize. Some of these moved forward in a line abreast; some were lashed together, to receive timbers of uncommon size ranged across both decks. All of them were furnished with sails, of matting instead of canvas, and more fully manned than is usual in European vessels of equal burthen: the whole implying, beyond any thing hitherto observed elsewhere, a neighbourhood of extensive commerce, or abundant population.

Out of one of those boats the Hindostan procured a pilot, who was a man of some intelligence. He guided her, at first, between the Que-san islands and the continent, proceeding to the northward towards those other clusters of islands of different sizes, among the innermost of which is that of Chu-san. The only danger in entering

between the Que-sans and the continent, is from a small rock, covered at high water, which appears to have been first seen from the ship Normanton, in the year 1736. In the manuscript journal of that voyage, it is described "to lie "about south-west by west from Patchcock, at "the distance of four leagues. When it was dis- "covered, the tide was at the first quarter of the "ebb. When within four or five miles of the rock, "it did not appear larger than a ship's long-boat "turned bottom up; and as it was then at the "dead of the neap, it must be considerably under "water in spring tides." This rock may easily be avoided by keeping the Que-san islands well aboard, or within a little distance; for there is not the least danger beyond a mile and a half to the southward or westward of them.

In the curious collection of charts published by Mr. Dalrymple, is one of the Chu-san islands, constructed by Captain Thornton. In that chart another rock, called the Holderness rock, on which a ship struck of that name, is laid down at more than three miles distance from the small island at the southern extremity of the great, or largest of the cluster of the Que-sans, agreeably to the bearings and distances recorded in the log-book of that ship; but the Chinese pilot of the Hindostan knew of no such danger, so far

from the shore. Its true position is laid down in the following bearings and distances, which were obligingly communicated by Thomas Fitzhugh, Esquire, at that time a passenger on board the Holderness, and now one of the Directors of the East India Company. He observed that "the bearings "were taken by him while the Holderness lay "on the rocks. Buffaloe's Nose, easternmost "end north-north-west northerly. Southernmost "small Que-san, the body south-east. Second "Que-san, the peak in the middle, south-east by "east. Three small rocks, of which two only are "to be seen at high water, east-south-east half "south. Third Que-san, the body east, distant "one mile and a quarter. Northernmost part of "the Que-sans, north-north-east. The largest of "the cluster called the Whelps, north-north-west "half west. The bearings recorded in the jour-"nal of the Holderness were taken when at "anchor afterwards, at a distance from the rock."

The route, followed by the squadron, was between the Que-san islands and a small cluster, named by the English the Bear and Cubs, lying to the westward of the Que-sans and close to the continent of China. San-man, or the Whelps, were another group of islands lying to the northward, and in the middle of the passage towards

Chu-san. Close to the westward of these the depth of water is five fathoms, and to the eastward seven. From them a north-north-west course leads between a cluster of small islands or rocks, surrounded with foul ground, called the Caulkers and Castle rock, and a small island to the eastward of them, called Kin-sa-hoia, or Starboard Jack, having a few rocks scattered on its southern side. In this part of the channel the bottom is very level; and accordingly an infinite number of boats with nets were occupied hereabouts, trolling, or dragging, the nets extended between two vessels, in every direction.

The same course leads between Buffaloe's Nose on the west side, and the Tinker on the east, to an island called Tree-a-top. This circumstance would be a sufficient distinction among islands which, tho covered with verdure to their summits, have very few trees growing upon them. No doubt this island deserved the appellation given to it when it was first described, together with the neighbouring isles, by the Europeans, above half a century ago, at which time they were permitted to trade to Chu-san; but the tree is gone, and this island, which is now as bare as those surrounding it, is only known by its relative position on the chart.

To the southward of Tree-a-top island about three or four miles, there is excellent anchorage, in five or six fathoms water, where ships are sheltered from every wind. There the Hindostan anchored; but the Lion and Jackall stood in between the Plowman and Buffaloe's Nose, on the former of which they took a supply of water, while the Clarence with Mr. Barrow, the Chinese interpreter, and two other gentlemen of the Embassy, were dispatched to Chu-san for the Chinese pilots, ordered to be in readiness there to conduct the squadron to Tien-sing.

Most of the Chu-san islands consisted of hills rising with a regular slope, and rounded at top, as if any points or angles existing in their original formation, had been gradually worn off into a globular and uniform shape. Many of those islands, tho close to each other, were divided by channels of great depth. They rested upon a foundation of grey or red granite, some part resembling porphyry, except in hardness. They were, certainly, not formed in consequence of successive alluvion by earth carried to the sea by the great river at whose mouth they were situated, like the numerous low and muddy islands, at the mouth of the Po, and many others; but should rather be considered as the

remains of part of the continent thus scooped and furrowed, as it were, into islands, by the force of violent torrents wafting further into the sea, whatever was less resistible than the rocks just mentioned. Some of them wore a very inviting aspect. One in particular, called Poo-too, is described as a perfect paradise. This spot was chosen, no doubt, for its natural beauties, and afterwards embellished, by a set of religious men, who, to the number of three thousand, possess the whole of it, living there in a state of celibacy. It contains four hundred temples, to each of which are annexed dwelling-houses and gardens for the accommodation of those monks. This large monastery, as it may be called, is richly endowed, and its fame is spread throughout the empire.

During the absence of the Clarence, the Lion, moored between the Plowman and Buffaloe's Nose islands, the former bearing north-west by north, and the north end of the latter north-east by north. This is a most excellent harbour, secure from all winds, and the holding ground so good that it required the whole strength of the ship's crew, with the assistance of every purchase to weigh the anchors. The depth of water is from twelve to twenty-two fathoms. The tide

in this spot rises about twelve feet, and runs at the full and change of the moon, two miles and a half an hour. Its latitude is twenty-nine degrees forty-five minutes north, and longitude one hundred and twenty-one degrees twenty-six minutes east. The Plowman's islands are inhabited, and contain several spots of beautiful verdure: but not a shrub, except a very few dwarf fruit trees, oaks, and Weymouth pines. The rocks upon the Plowman's isles are of the same nature as those already mentioned on the Ladrones; but with the addition in some parts, of perpendicular veins of white, and of blue and white, spar.

The ship was supplied from thence, at moderate rates, with bullocks, goats, and fowls; and from some of the surrounding boats, with a variety of excellent fish. The sight of a vessel of uncommon construction, as well as size, such as the Lion certainly appeared here, put, for a time, in this neighbourhood almost an end to labour by sea and land. Her decks were so crowded with visitors, and others were waiting with such eagerness to come on board, that it became necessary to dismiss, after a short visit, the first comers, in order to be able to gratify the curiosity of others. Some of them entering into the great cabin of the Lion, where the Embassador had a portrait of the Em-

peror of China, immediately recognized it, and prostrating themselves before it, kissed the ground several times with great devotion. On rising, they appeared to feel a sort of gratitude towards the foreigner who had the attention to place the portrait of their sovereign in his apartment. Tho the ship's crew, at length, suffered many of them to range unnoticed and unaccompanied thro every part of the vessel, this indulgence was not abused by the commission of any act of impropriety. Among them few betrayed that awkwardness or rudeness of manners, or apparent vacancy of mind, so frequently observable among other people in the lower classes of life.

The Clarence in going to Chu-san, worked with the tide up Duffield's passage, where she was obliged to anchor when the ebb began. This passage is formed between the large island Lowang on the east, and a smaller, on the west, and is not above three miles wide; yet the depth of water is from one hundred to one hundred and twenty fathoms, and in the midst are several rocks, and two or three islets. The Clarence anchored in this passage, within a cable's length or half-quarter of a mile, from a small peninsula surrounded by a muddy bank, part of which was dry at low water; and the isthmus that con-

nects it with the island Lowang is covered at high spring tides. At the edge of this bank the anchorage was in fifteen fathoms, the bottom soft mud.

The gentlemen, who were in the brig, were willing to employ the time that was to intervene, until the tide should turn in their favour for Chusan, in going ashore to pay their first visit to the territories of China. But it was not easy to effect a landing, as the Lowang shore was surrounded by soft deep clay and mud, wherever the bank ran out, and by steep rocks elsewhere. They found, at last, means to climb up the latter. From one of the neighbouring hills the passage in which the Clarence lay had the appearance of a river, while the sea beyond it might be considered as an immense lake studded with innumerable islands. The hill on which they stood was covered with strong grasses, reeds, and shrubbery, together with plants sufficiently denoting a situation remote from Europe. There were so few trees or cattle, that the country had the appearance of nakedness to an European eye.

Descending from the hill, they came to a small level plain recovered from the sea, which was kept out by an embankment of earth, at least thirty feet thick. The quantity of ground gained

by it seemed scarcely to be worth the labour that it must have cost. The plain was, indeed, cultivated with the utmost care, and laid out, chiefly, in rice-plats, supplied with water collected from the adjacent hills into little channels, through which it was conveyed to every part of those plantations. It was manured, instead of the dung of animals, with matters more offensive to the human senses, and which are not very generally applied to the purposes of agriculture in England. Earthen vessels were sunk into the ground for the reception of such manure; and for containing liquids of an analogous nature, in which the grain was steeped previously to its being sown: an operation which is supposed to hasten the growth of the future plant, as well as to prevent any injury from insects in its tender state.

The party fell in with a peasant who, tho struck with their appearance, was not so scared by it as to shun them. He was dressed in loose garments of blue cotton, a straw hat upon his head fastened by a string under his chin, and half boots upon his legs. He seemed to enter into the spirit of curiosity, naturally animating travellers, and readily led them towards an adjoining village. Passing by a small farm house, they were invited into it by the tenant, who, together

with his son, observed them with astonished eyes. The house was built of wood, the uprights of the natural form of the timber. No ceiling concealed the inside of the roof, which was put together strongly, and covered with the straw of rice. The floor was of earth beaten hard, and the partitions between the rooms consisted of mats hanging from the beams. Two spinning wheels for cotton were seen in the outer room: but the seats for the spinners were empty. They had probably been filled by females, who retired on the approach of strangers. While they remained, none of that sex appeared. Round the house were planted clusters of bamboo, and of that species of palm, of which each leaf resembles the form of a fan; and used as such, becomes an article of merchandize.

The return of the tide put an end to this visit to Lowang, of which place one of the natives said that it was so considerable, and so well peopled, as to contain near ten thousand inhabitants.

The Clarence proceeding towards Chu-san, came in the dusk of the evening to a long projecting promontory, called Kee-to point. It is the extremity of a chain of mountains upon the Chinese continent, composed apparently of masses of granite. Round this point the

tide ran in whirling eddies, with a rapidity that would force into its vortex a ship of the largest size, unless a strong breeze enabled her to sail past it. Within a hundred yards of the point, the mud is brought up from the bottom in such quantities as to excite alarm, lest the ship should strike the ground, in those who are not aware of the vast depth of water in this spot, which exceeds one hundred fathoms. A little to the southward of the point the Clarence found good anchorage, in seventeen fathoms, where it was thought prudent to remain that night, as the passages among the islands leading to Chu-san were narrow and intricate. In consequence of the regulations of the vigilant government of China, a report of her approach had already reached Chu-san. A Chinese vessel anchored near her, from which an officer came on board to announce that the next morning his barge should conduct the foreign vessel into the harbour of Chu-san, whither she was supposed to be bound. She proceeded with the early morning's tide, and after passing through several narrow straits, arrived in that harbour.

Between the Que-sans and Chu-san harbour, through a space of about sixty miles in length, and thirty in width, the number of islands ex-

ceeds three hundred. A dangerous rock (not that of the Holderness already mentioned) on which the Hindostan struck on her return to the southward, is met with in the passage to Chu-san harbour. By a perusal of the manuscript journals of the English East India Company's ships which had sailed formerly to Chu-san, it appears that the Northumberland in the year 1704, was the only one on board which it seems to have been known that such a rock existed. In her log-book it is observed that "they kept Kee-to point open with "Deer island, to avoid a sunken rock that lay "off Sarah Galley island; which, and the flag-"staff on Chu-san hill, being both in one, the "ship is abreast of it."

The part of the harbour in which the Clarence anchored, was distant about half a mile from a landing place, near the house of the Tsung-ping, or military governor, who presided in this place, and which bore from the brig north-east by north. The depth of water was five fathoms. In this situation the four passages into the harbour were so shut in, that none of them were visible. It looked like a lake surrounded by hills; and a person standing upon the deck of the Clarence at anchor, could scarcely point out how she got there. The extent of the harbour, from

north to south, is little more than a mile; but it is near three miles from east to west. The rise and fall of the tides makes a difference of about twelve feet. The time of high water, at the full and change of the moon, appears to be about twelve o'clock. The tides, however, are very irregular, and vary according to the wind, and the eddies produced by such a multiplicity of islands. At the anchoring place of the Clarence the flood and ebb ran in the same direction, within three points of the compass: the current setting constantly between east and north-east by east; and for the two days and nights, during which that vessel continued in the harbour, her head always pointed nearly to the same object on the shore. The circumstance of irregular tides had been noticed in the manuscript journal of the Stringer galley, in the year 1708, where it is mentioned that "in the distance of two leagues "among the Chu-san islands, the irregularities "of the tides were such that there was the dif- "ference of two hours in the time of high water "in the two places."

Among these numerous islands there are almost as many valuable harbours or places of perfect security, for ships of any burden. This advantage, together with that of their central situation,

in respect to the eastern coast of China, and the vicinity of Corea, Japan, Leoo-keoo, and Formosa, attract considerable commerce especially to Ning-poo, a city of great trade in the adjoining province of Che-kiang, to which all the Chu-san islands are annexed. From one port in that province twelve vessels sail, annually, for copper to Japan.

Soon after the Clarence had anchored, some civil and military officers came on board to inquire the occasion of her visit; which being declared, it was settled that the party should go ashore the next morning, and wait on the governor to make their demand. With these officers came, to serve as an interpreter, a Chinese merchant, who had formerly been connected in trade with the agents of the East India Company, while they were allowed to frequent this part of China. He still retained somewhat of the English language. By this man's account, the English had given no just cause of dissatisfaction in this place, tho they have been interdicted from it, through the means, as is most likely, of the superior influence of the officers governing at Canton, who are supposed to draw large sums from the accumulation of foreign trade in that port; and perhaps also from the increasing

apprehension, on the part of the Chinese government, of the ill effects which might arise from an unrestrained communication between foreigners and the subjects of that empire, in several of its ports at the same time. The Chinese merchant still recollected with pleasure the names of Mr. Fitzhugh and Mr. Bevan, two of the Company's principal agents at Ning-poo and Chu-san; and indulged a hope that the English trade would be again permitted there. He explained the reason why a salute by the Clarence of seven guns was answered by three only from the shore, by observing, that among the regulations of economy in the Chinese government, no greater number is permitted to be fired from the same spot, on any occasion of compliment. This circumstance led him to mention their rule in saluting, to point their guns always into the air; adding, that if such a prudential caution had been practiced by the English, the accident would not have happened at Canton, when two Chinese were killed by a shot from an English vessel on a rejoicing day, which endangered the continuance of the British trade in China, and ended in the capital punishment of the gunner; the Chinese government taking it for granted, that guns pointed horizon-

tally, must be really meant, whatever might be the pretence, for mischief.

As soon as it was known that the Clarence belonged to the Embassy, for the honourable reception and perfect accommodation of which, orders, unexampled on the occasion of former Embassies, had been issued to all the provinces along the coast, the governor sent presents of all sorts of provisions on board; the next morning he received the gentlemen with great politeness, invited them to plays and entertainments, and expressed his hope that a formal deputation, which he had already dispatched to the Lion, lying at anchor at some distance, would prevail on the Embassador to come ashore, where preparations were making to receive him with all due honours. The earnest desire of repairing speedily into the presence of the Emperor, served as a full apology for declining to accede to any proposition which might tend to delay; as well as for pressing about pilots.

As to these the governor conceived that he had fully complied with the instructions he had received from court for that purpose, by having persons ready to conduct the squadron along shore to the next province to the northward, and that others would be found to conduct them, in

like manner, successively, till they should get to Tien-sing. It was, however, certain that coasting in this manner must be extremely tedious, and otherwise improper for large ships, drawing much water, as, near the shore, the risk of getting upon shoals, or striking upon rocks, was greater than farther out at sea. This difficulty was stated to the governor, to whom the idea of a direct navigation to the gulf of Pekin, without any intermediate stop, was altogether new. He thought proper to consider of it till the next day.

The party, thus obliged to defer their return to the Lion, went to view the city or walled town of Ting-hai, situate within a mile from the large open village or suburb, built along the shore. The way from one to the other was over a plain, intersected with rivulets and canals in various directions, which possibly might serve, among other purposes, for that of separating the different properties of individuals. The ground was cultivated like a garden. Not a single spot was waste; and the road, tho good, was narrow, as if in order that as little land as possible should be lost to culture.

The city walls were thirty feet high, and, like those of a large prison, overtopped the houses

which they surrounded. Along the walls, at the distance of every hundred yards, were square stone towers. In the parapets were also embrasures, and holes in the merlons for archery; but there were no cannon, except a few old wrought-iron pieces near the gate. The gate was double; within which was a guardhouse, where military men were stationed; and the bows and arrows, pikes, and matchlocks, orderly arranged, were, no doubt, intended for their use.

Of the towns of Europe, Ting-hai bore the resemblance most of Venice, but on a smaller scale. It was, in some degree, surrounded, as well as intersected, by canals. The bridges thrown over them were steep, and ascended by steps, like the Rialto. The streets, which were no more than alleys or narrow passages, were paved with square flat stones; but the houses, unlike the Venetian buildings, were low, and mostly of one story. The attention, as to ornament, in these buildings was confined chiefly to the roofs, which, besides having the tiles that cover the rafters luted and plastered over, to prevent accidents from their falling in stormy weather, were contrived in such a form as to imitate the inward bend of the ridges and sides of canvas tents, or of the coverings of skins of animals or

other flexible materials, effected by their weight: a form preferred, perhaps, after the introduction of more solid materials, in allusion to the modes of shelter to which the human race had, probably, recourse before the erection of regular dwelling-houses. On the ridges of the roofs were uncouth figures of animals, and other decorations in clay, stone, or iron. The town was full of shops, containing, chiefly, articles of clothing, food, and furniture, displayed to full advantage. Even coffins were painted in a variety of lively and contrasting colours. The smaller quadrupeds, including dogs, intended for food, were, as well as poultry, exposed alive for sale, as were fish in tubs of water, and eels in sand. The number of places where tin-leaf, and sticks of odoriferous wood were sold, for burning in their temples, indicated no slight degree of superstitious disposition in the people. Loose garments and trowsers were worn by both sexes; but the men had hats of straw or cane which covered the head, their hair, except one long lock, being cut short or shaved; while the women had theirs entire, and plaited and coiled, becomingly, into a knot upon the crown of the head, as is sometimes seen on the female statues of antiquity.

Throughout the place there was an appear-

ance of quick and active industry, beyond the natural effect of a climate not quite thirty degrees from the Equator: a circumstance which implied the stimulus of necessity compelling, or of reward exciting, to labour. None seemed to shun it. None asked alms. Men, only, were passing busily through the streets. Women were seen, chiefly, in the shops, and at their doors and windows.

Of most of the latter, even in the middle and inferior classes, the feet were unnaturally small, or rather truncated. They appeared as if the fore part of the foot had been accidentally cut off, leaving the remainder of the usual size, and bandaged like the stump of an amputated limb. They undergo, indeed, much torment, and cripple themselves in great measure, in imitation of ladies of higher rank, among whom it is there the custom to stop, by pressure, the growth of the ancle as well as foot from the earliest infancy; and leaving the great toe in its natural position, forcibly to bend the others, and retain them under the foot, till at length they adhere to, as if buried in the sole, and can no more be separated.

Notwithstanding the pliability of the human frame in tender years, its tendency to expansion

at that period must, whenever it is counteracted, occasion uneasy sensations to those who are so treated; and before the ambition of being admired takes possession of those victims to fashion, it requires the vigilance of their female parents to deter them from relieving themselves from the firm and tight compresses, which bind their feet and ancles. Where those compresses are constantly and carefully kept on, the feet are symmetrically small. The young creatures are indeed obliged, for a considerable time, to be supported when they attempt to walk. Even afterwards they totter, and always walk upon their heels.

This artificial diminutiveness of the feet, though it does not entirely prevent their use, must certainly cramp the general growth, and injure the constitution of those who have been subjected to it. Some of the very lowest classes of the Chinese, of a race confined chiefly to the mountains and remote places, have not adopted this unnatural custom. But the females of this class are held by the rest in the utmost degree of contempt, and are employed only in the most menial domestic offices. So inveterate is the custom, which gives pre-eminence to mutilated before perfect limbs, that the interpreter averred, and every subsequent information con-

firmed the assertion, that if, of two sisters, otherwise every way equal, the one had thus been maimed, while nature was suffered to make its usual progress in the other, the latter would be considered as in an abject state, unworthy of associating with the rest of the family, and doomed to perpetual obscurity, and the drudgery of servitude.

In forming conjectures upon the origin of so singular a fashion among the Chinese ladies, it is not very easy to conceive why this mode should have been suddenly or forcibly introduced amongst them by the other sex. Had men been really bent upon confining constantly to their homes the females of their families, they might have effected it without cruelly depriving them of the physical power of motion. No such custom is known in Turkey or Hindostan, where women are kept in greater habits of retirement than in China. Opinion, indeed, more than power, governs the general actions of the human race; and so preposterous a practice could be maintained only by the example and persuasion of those who, in their own persons, had submitted to it. Men may have silently approved, and indirectly encouraged it, as those of India are supposed to do that much more

barbarous custom of widows burning themselves after the death of their husbands. But it is not violence, or the apprehension of corporal suffering, but the horror and disgrace in consequence of omitting, and the idea of glory arising from doing, what is considered to be an act of duty, at the expence of life, which leads to such a sacrifice. In that instance, ages must have past to ripen prejudices productive of a consequence so dreadful; but the pride of superiority, and the dread of degradation, have been frequently found sufficient to surmount the common feelings of nature. To many women a voluntary constraint upon the body and mind is, in some degree, habitual. They who recollect the fashion of slender waists in England, and what pains were taken, and sufferings endured, to excel in that particular, will be somewhat less surprised at extraordinary efforts made in other instances. Delicacy of limbs and person has, no doubt, been always coveted by the fair sex, as it has been the admiration of the other. Yet it could not be the extraordinary instance of such in any one lady, tho in the most exalted rank, according to the popular story throughout China, that could induce the rest of her sex to put at once such violence upon themselves, in order to

resemble her in that respect. The emulation of surpassing in any species of beauty, must have animated vast numbers of all ranks, and have continued through successive ages, to carry it at last to an excess which defeats, in fact, its intended purpose. Whatever a lady may have gained, by the imagined charms of feet decreased below the size of nature, is more than counterbalanced by the injury it does to her health and to her figure; for *grace is* not *in her steps*, nor animation in her countenance.

While the party of Englishmen were engaged in gratifying their strong spirit of curiosity with regard to all the surrounding objects, they themselves were still more the occasion of surprise and astonishment in their beholders. Few of the people in this place had ever seen an Englishman before, or indeed any person differing remarkably from themselves. They collected now in multitudes round the strangers, who were attended by a guard which the governor had ordered for them. The people, however, pressed close, without any apparent apprehension of the soldiery. They were familiar, but without insult, scoff, or uproar. It was then the month of July, and the crowd added to the sultriness of the weather. The party being dressed in the

European manner, their clothes fitted closely to their bodies, and some kept tight by ligatures, began to suffer exceedingly from the heat; while the surrounding multitude, in habits loosely hanging round them, felt no sort of inconvenience. The soldiers endeavoured to keep off the people by gentle methods, and sometimes by menaces, but did not seem in the habit of exerting against them the means of coercion in their hands.

The party took shelter from the heat and crowd in a temple full of monstrous and grotesque figures of the supposed deities and guardians of the city. They soon afterwards returned in sedan chairs, followed by new crowds. Before they reached the sea side, they were overtaken by heavy rain, and whirling gusts of wind that nearly overset the chairs, and forced them to go into a monastery of Chinese priests, where they were hospitably received, and helped to tea, the general beverage served upon all occasions, and at all hours of the day.

The next morning the party presented themselves so early at the hall of audience, that the governor was not yet arrived there. It was a large building, situated at the end of a paved court, surrounded by galleries. The hall was open entirely to the roof, which was supported

by several rows of large wooden columns painted red, and highly varnished, as were all the beams and rafters. A prodigious number of lamps, or lanterns, of various shapes and sizes were suspended by silken cords from the cross beams, and round the columns, decorated with tassels, varying in form and colour.

Of the lanterns, some were composed of thin silk gauze, painted or wrought in needle-work, with figures of birds, insects, flowers, or fruit, and stretched on neat frames of wood. Some were entirely made of horn. These were so thin and transparent, that they were taken at first for glass, a material to which, for this purpose, the horn is preferred by the Chinese, as cheaper, lighter, less liable to accident, and, in case of accident, more easily repaired. Many of them were about two feet in the diameter, and rolled in the form of a cylinder, with the ends rounded off, and the edges meeting in the point to which the suspending cords were tied. Each lantern consisted of an uniform piece of horn, the joints, or seams, being rendered invisible, by an art invented by the Chinese; among whom the vast number of such lanterns used in their dwelling-houses and temples, as well as on the occasions of their festivals and processions, have led to many trials

for improving their construction. The horns generally employed, are those of sheep and goats. The usual method of managing them, according to the information obtained upon the spot, is to bend them by immersion in boiling water, after which they are cut open and flattened; they then easily scale, or are separated into two or three thin laminæ, or plates. In order that these plates should be made to join, they are exposed to the penetrating effect of steam, by which they are rendered almost perfectly soft. In this state, the edges of the pieces to be joined are carefully scraped and slanted off, so as that the pieces overlapping each other shall not, together, exceed the thickness of the plate in any other part. By applying the edges, thus prepared, immediately to each other, and pressing them with pincers, they intimately adhere, and incorporating, form one substance, similar in every respect to the other parts; and thus uniform pieces of horn may be prepared, to almost any extent. It is a contrivance little known elsewhere, however simple the process appears to be; and perhaps some minute precautions are omitted in the general description, which may be essential to its complete success.

The hall of audience furnished also another

object of curiosity, striking at least to strangers. On several tables were placed in frames, filled with earth, dwarf pines, oaks, and orange trees bearing fruit. None of them exceeded, in height, two feet. Some of those dwarfs bore all the marks of decay from age; and upon the surface of the soil were interspersed small heaps of stones, which, in proportion to the adjoining dwarfs, might be termed rocks. These were honey-combed and moss-grown, as if untouched for ages; and thus served to maintain the illusion, and to give an antique appearance to the whole. This kind of stunted vegetation seemed to be much relished by the curious in China; and specimens of it were to be found in every considerable dwelling. To produce them formed a part of the gardener's skill, and was an art invented in that country. Beside the mere merit of overcoming a difficulty, it had that of introducing vegetables into common apartments, from which their natural size must otherwise have excluded them. According to the usual course of nature, different vegetable productions attain their perfect state at different periods, and after acquiring different dimensions, and passing through different stages of growth. Thus the cedar of Lebanon, for example, consumes some years in forming a

tall and woody trunk, with many horizontal branches, before it emits its colourless flowers, and small cones, for the purpose of reproduction, which is the period of its perfection; while the hyssop, capable, at most, of raising a short herbaceous stem, produces its flowers and seeds the season after it is sown. Some trees are reproduced, indeed, from cuttings of young branches, without the necessity of sowing any seed; but such cuttings, planted in the ground, must become trunks themselves in the usual period of their respective increase, and after acquiring their ordinary size, emit new branches, before they become adult, or capable of fructification; but by the art of dwarfing, an abscinded branch committed to the earth, continues still to fructify, as if it had been grafted upon a full grown tree, with its juices ripened for reproduction.

The general method of obtaining vegetable dwarfs is said to be the following: a quantity of clay, or mold, is applied to the upper part of the trunk of a tree, from which a dwarf is intended to be taken, and close to its division into branches. The mold is to be confined to the spot by coarse hempen, or cotton, cloth, and to be carefully kept moist by water. In consequence of this application, continued sometimes above a

twelvemonth, small tender fibres shoot down like roots from the wood into the mold. The part of the trunk emitting those new fibres, together with the branch rising immediately above it, is then to be carefully separated from the rest of the tree, and planted in new earth, in which the fibres become new roots, while the former branch is now the stem of the vegetable, thus in some degree transformed. This operation does not destroy or alter the productive faculty which those parts enjoyed before their separation from their parent root. That which, while a branch of the original tree, bore flowers and fruit, continues to produce the same, tho no longer supported upon any stock. The terminal buds of such branches of trees as are meant to become dwarfs, are torn off; which circumstance prevents the further elongation of those branches, and forces other buds and branchlets from the sides. These branchlets are bent by wires to whatever form the operator wishes; and when the appearance of age and decay is meant to be given to a dwarf tree, it is repeatedly smeared with treacle or molasses, which attracts multitudes of ants, who, in pursuit of those sweet juices, attack the bark, and, by a gradual corrosion of it, produce the desired effect. These different

processes are sometimes attempted to be kept secret by the gardeners, and they vary designedly in the mode of carrying them on; but the principle on which they are founded is sufficiently apparent from what is related here; and the contrivance argues ingenuity and perseverance, rather than the practice does true taste, which consists in assisting nature in its most favourite works; not in counteracting its operations or distorting its productions.

While the party were receiving information on the subjects before them in the hall of audience, their attention was quickly called to the business that had brought them there, by the arrival of the governor. He was accompanied by a civil magistrate. The latter was distinguished by a square embroidery upon his breast, in party-coloured silk, in which the figure of an imaginary bird, the phœnix of the Chinese, was wrought; as was that of a tiger, on a similar embroidery, on the governor's robes, denoting his military functions. This latter animal is not inaptly emblematic of the evils which happen in the course of that profession; and a bird, in the ancient mythology of Europe, denoted wisdom, the proper quality of magistrates. These persons, with some subordinate officers, seated themselves

in a row of arm-chairs, covered with English scarlet cloth, while the English were seated on a similar row placed opposite to them.

After an intercourse of civilities, tea was presented; and the magistrate then began a speech, which was uttered with a variety of tones, and accompanied with gestures, that implied it to have been intended for a display of eloquence, entirely thrown away, indeed, upon most of his auditors; but of which the purport was, that the mode of navigation from province to province along the coast had been, at all times, the practice amongst the Chinese, and must, consequently, be the best to follow in the present instance; that Chu-san was only a subsidiary port to the greater one of Ning-poo, and could supply no pilots, such as were now demanded. To this speech it was simply answered, that the greater size, and different construction of the English ships, required a different method to be followed in this respect from what usually was practiced; that as Ning-poo might furnish such pilots as could not be found at Chu-san, they would immediately proceed thither in search of them.

This intention alarmed, instantly, the governor. He said that their departure for Ning-poo

would imply, in the eyes of the Emperor, a dissatisfaction at their reception at Chu-san; the consequence of which, probably, would occasion the loss of his office and of his dignity, pointing to a globular red button, which he wore upon his bonnet, denoting the second class of magistrates, or officers, in the public service, of whom there are nine degrees, except which there is, strictly, no rank or dignity in the country.

The governor, to avoid the possibility of disgrace, immediately undertook to find out persons qualified to conduct the squadron in the desired route. Peremptory orders were instantly dispatched into the town for all such persons as were known to have ever been at Tien-sing. As soon as they appeared, they were severally examined as to their skill in navigation. Two, at last, were found, who had traded frequently to that port; but who had quitted the sea some time. They gave information that the navigation of the Yellow sea was attended with no peculiar difficulty or danger, at least to vessels of the size that were generally used to traverse it; that there was a bar of sand across the mouth of the river Pei-ho, leading to Tien-sing, which prevented ships, that drew more than seven or eight feet water, from entering into it; but that

within a day or two's sail of it, there was a safe harbour for larger vessels, under the island of Mi-a-tau.

These two men were commanded by the governor to prepare themselves to repair immediately on board the Clarence, in order to join the ships, and pilot them to that island, or as near to Tien-sing as they could go. Both these men were settled, and had families in Chu-san. It was contrary to their inclination to go again to sea. They declared that their absence from home would be injurious to their private affairs. They prostrated themselves before the governor, supplicating him to excuse them from being employed upon this occasion. The English could not interfere without giving up all claim to pilots, and thereby risking the safety of the squadron and the Embassy; and the governor, declaring the Emperor's will must be obeyed, would listen to no remonstrance.

While the pilots went hastily to prepare themselves for this unexpected service, the gentlemen returned on board the Clarence to make ready for departure. They were scarcely arrived when they were followed by the governor, whose visit was influenced, probably, by curiosity, as well as civility. His attention was chiefly struck

with the relative height of the masts, the contrivances for setting several sails upon them, one above another, and the dexterity of the sailors in running up the shrouds. The Chinese vessels have indeed, sometimes, one canvas topsail over the mainsail. The latter is made of matting, across which, for its support, are sticks, placed parallel to each other, of the bamboo, a hollow wood, remarkable, at the same time, for strength and lightness. Up these sticks the Chinese sailors mount, when they find it necessary to go aloft; but they generally carry on the manœuvres of navigation upon deck.

During the stay of the Clarence in Chu-san harbour, one of the persons who came in her was seized with a violent cholera morbus, in consequence of eating too freely of some acid fruit he had found on shore. As no medical gentleman, nor any medicines happened to be on board, inquiries were made immediately for a Chinese physician to administer, at least, some momentary relief to the patient, then labouring under excruciating torments. A physician soon arrived; who, without asking any questions about the symptoms or origin of the complaint, with great solemnity felt the pulse of the left arm of his patient, by applying gently his four fingers

to it; then raising up one of them, he continued to press with the other three, afterwards with two, and, at last, with only one, moving his hand for several minutes backwards and forwards along the wrist, as if upon the keys of a harpsichord, as far towards the elbow as the pulse could be distinguished. He remained the whole time silent, with eyes fixed, but not upon the patient, and acting as if he considered every distinct disease to be attended with a pulsation of the artery peculiar to itself, and distinguishable by an attentive practitioner. He pronounced the present complaint to arise from the stomach, as indeed was obvious from the symptoms, of which it is very probable he had information before he came; and which soon yielded to appropriate medicines, supplied, at the patient's request, by him.

As soon as the pilots arrived on board the Clarence, she stood out of Chu-san harbour, and, in her way to join the Lion, came close to an island, called Sarah Galley, when the wind dying away, she drifted into an eddy, in which she was whirled round, as upon a centre, several times, with much impetuosity. At every revolution the bowsprit was within a few feet of striking against a steep

rock that rose perpendicularly out of the sea. The pilots, who had been in the same situation frequently before, were so far useful on this occasion, as to prevent any alarm being taken, by their assurance that no danger was to be apprehended; and in fact, the tide soon carried the brig away from the whirlpool; and she anchored, the same night, off the northern point of Lowang. The following day she passed through the straits called Gough's passage, and joined the Lion at her place of anchorage, before described.

During her absence the deputation mentioned at Chu-san, and another from the governor of the province to the Embassador, had been on board the Lion. Presents of provisions were brought by both; and invitations given for his Excellency and his suite to partake of entertainments on shore, which he declined: alleging the necessity of the immediate prosecution of his voyage towards the Emperor's court.

CHAPTER II.

NAVIGATION THROUGH THE YELLOW SEA. EMBASSADOR'S ENTRANCE INTO THE RIVER LEADING TO TIEN-SING.

THAT part of the coast of China, along which the squadron had already sailed, from the eastern limits of Tung-quin to the Chu-san islands, measures upwards of one thousand nautical miles, each about a sixth longer than a common English mile. What remained of the Chinese coast from hence to the port nearest to Pekin, in the gulf to which that capital gives its name, is of an extent still more considerable. But at Chu-san the squadron was arrived at the utmost boundary of recorded European navigation. The sea from thence, for about ten degrees of latitude, and six of longitude, was utterly unknown, except to those who dwelt in the neighbourhood of its shores. Into this sea are received the waters of the great *Whang-ho*, or Yellow river of China. This river wafts, in its long and circuitous course, such vast quantities of yellowish mud, that it takes, from that circumstance, and com-

municates to the adjoining sea, the particular name by which they are both distinguished. The Yellow sea is bounded by China, Tartary, and the peninsula of Corea. It was no immaterial advantage derived from the Embassy, that it furnished an opportunity of exploring, without risk, so considerable a tract, under the guidance of those who had frequently passed through it. Of the two pilots obtained for this purpose at Chu-san, one was received on board the Lion; the other was sent to the Hindostan. Tho forced upon this service, they appeared ready to perform it, as well as they were able. When, indeed, an European pilot arrives upon the deck of a vessel, on board of which his assistance is required, he takes at once the helm, and exercises his functions like a dictator among the Romans, while all other authority is suspended, or exerted only to enforce obedience to his absolute commands. But the Chinese, in the present instance, were too much awed by the novelty of their situation, in the midst of strangers, to be forward in interfering. They were, however, attentive to the preparations made for the prosecution of the voyage, and to all the manœuvres of the ships. Each of them brought with him a small marine compass; but they had neither

charts, nor any instrument for ascertaining latitudes. The local experience, it is true, of skilful pilots is deemed sufficient in regard to coasts visited by them frequently. It is not uncommon, however, on board Chinese vessels to have maps or sketches of their intended route, with the neighbouring headlands cut or engraved upon the back of empty gourds, the round form of which corresponds, in some sort, to the figure of the earth. Such a similitude may have sometimes contributed to render those sketches somewhat less erroneous; but the advantage is accidental; for neither the astronomers nor navigators of China have varied much from the first rude notions entertained among mankind that the whole earth was one flat surface; in the middle of which the Chinese took for granted that their own empire was situate; thence emphatically styled by them, *the empire of the middle;* all other countries surrounding it being in their estimation, comparatively small, and lying towards the edge or margin of the earth; beyond which all must be a precipitate and dreadful void.

This ignorance of the earth's form precluded any attempt to ascertain the latitude or longitude of the different parts of it by observations of the heavenly bodies, for the improvement of

navigation. Even among other nations, where philosophers had made discoveries of importance, they seldom were applied to useful purposes, until the great inventress of social arts, necessity, had stimulated to extraordinary exertions. Notwithstanding the science of the Greeks, and the fertility as well as acuteness of their minds, they never proceeded to the length of ascertaining, with the assistance of an instrument, the position of a ship at sea: satisfied that they could, by the observation, in the day time, of some part of the coast of the Mediterranean, in which they generally sailed, or of the many islands scattered through it, and, in the night time, of the stars, obtain such information as they wanted in that respect. The Chinese, indeed, enjoy a similar advantage, as their seas resemble the Mediterranean, by the narrowness of their limits, and the numerous islands with which every part of them is studded. It is to be observed, likewise, that the art of navigation, improved among Europeans, dates its origin nearly from the same period when their passions, or their wants, impelled them to undertake long voyages over the boundless ocean.

As to the compass, it is, among the Chinese, in universal use. With them, the magnetic

needle is seldom made to exceed an inch in length, and is less than a line in thickness. It is poised with great nicety, and is remarkably sensible; by which is meant, that it appears to move at the least change of position, towards the east or west of the box in which it is suspended; tho, in fact, the nature of the magnet, and the perfection of the machine containing it, consist in the needle's privation of all motion, or its continuing to point always steadily towards the same portion of the heavens, however rapidly may be whirled the compass-box, or other objects immediately surrounding it. This steadiness, in the Chinese compass, is accomplished by a particular contrivance, as observed by Mr. Barrow. "A piece "of thin copper is strapped round the centre of "the needle. This copper is rivetted by its "edges to the upper part of a small hemisphe-"rical cup, of the same metal, turned down-"wards. The cup so inverted, serves as a "socket to receive a steel pivot rising from a "cavity made into a round piece of light wood, "or cork, which thus forms the compass-box. "The surfaces of the socket and pivot, intended "to meet each other, are perfectly polished, to "avoid, as much as possible, all friction. The "cup has a proportionably broad margin, which,

" beside adding to its weight, tends from its ho-
" rizontal position to keep the centre of gravity,
" in all situations of the compass, nearly in co-
" incidence with the centre of suspension. The-
" cavity, in which the needle is thus suspended,
" is in form circular, and is little more than suf-
" ficient to receive the needle, cup, and pivot.
" Over this cavity is placed a thin piece of trans-
" parent talc, which prevents the needle from
" being affected by any motion of the external
" air; but permits the apparent motion of the
" former to be easily observed. The small and
" short needle of the Chinese has a material ad-
" vantage over those of the usual size in Europe,
" with regard to the inclination or dip towards
" the horizon; which, in the latter, requires
" that one extremity of the needle should be
" made so much heavier than the other, as will
" counteract the magnetic attraction. This be-
" ing different in different parts of the world, the
" needle can only be accurately true at the place
" for which it had been constructed. But in
" short and light needles, suspended after the
" Chinese manner; the weight below the point
" of suspension, is more than sufficient to over-
" come the magnetic power of the dip or incli-
" nation, in all situations of the globe; and

" therefore such needles will never deviate from " their horizontal position."

Upon the upper surface of the box are drawn, several concentric lines or circles, according to the various sizes of the compass-box. This is seldom less than four inches in diameter. The circles are distinguished by different Chinese characters. Eight are marked on the first or innermost circle; four of which denote the cardinal points of east, west, north, and south; and four the bisecting intermediate points. The same eight characters also signify eight equal subdivisions of the natural day, or space during which the earth revolves upon its own axis in pursuing its course round the sun, every subdivision being of three hours. The characters denoting each of these are so placed as to point out nearly the position of the sun at those different portions of the day, beginning at sunrise, of which the character means also the eastern portion of the heavens. With this first circle of eight divisions agrees the first compass, which is said to have appeared in Europe in the beginning of the fourteenth century; and which, by subsequent subdivisions, was improved into thirty-two points, as seamen became more expert and accurate in observation.

In another circle of the Chinese compass are twenty-four divisions, in each of which a character is inserted, which marks at the same time, a twenty-fourth portion of the heavens, and a twenty-fourth part of the natural day. According to this division, each point, or twenty-fourth portion of the compass, comprehends an integral number of fifteen degrees out of three hundred and sixty, into which all circles of the celestial sphere have been agreed to be divided, probably since that early period when the number of days, in which the sun performed his apparent course, was supposed to be three hundred and sixty.

The remaining circles round the Chinese compass contain the characters of the cycle of sixty years, by which this nation regulates its chronology, and other characters expressive of their philosophical and mythological doctrines, to which they are so attached as to render this instrument as familiar to the people ashore, as it is at sea.

The nature and the cause of the qualities of the magnet have, at all times, been subjects of contemplation among the Chinese. Their theory, in this instance, as in many others, is the reverse of that of European philosophers. It is obvious that while the magnetic needle, suspended by its

centre, points at one extremity to the north, it necessarily looks at the other, to the south; but each retains its own polarity; and if turned round by force, will resume, when left at liberty, its original station opposite its respective pole. Thus the power, which principally attracts the needle, may be supposed to reside toward either or both portions of the earth. In Europe it has been thought that the needle has its chief tendency to the north pole; but in China the south alone is considered as containing the attractive power. The Chinese name of the compass is *ting-nan-ching*, or needle pointing to the south; and a distinguishing mark is fixed on the magnet's southern pole, as in European compasses upon the northern one.

The Emperor Caung-shee, grandfather to the present reigning sovereign, who was in the habit of committing to paper his observations on a variety of subjects, and who, having encouraged learned missionaries at his court, had not been inattentive to their philosophical opinions, writes on this occasion, "I have heard Europeans say, "that the needle obeys the north. In our oldest "records it is said, that it turns to the south; "but as neither have explained the cause, I see "little to be gained in adopting one opinion in

"preference to the other. The ancients, how-
"ever, are first in date; and the farther I pro-
"ceed, the more I am convinced of their know-
"ledge of the operations and mechanism of na-
"ture. Moreover, as all action grows languid,
"and nearly is suspended towards the north, it
"is less likely that the virtue, which gives mo-
"tion to the magnetic needle, should proceed
"from that quarter."

An allusion is made likewise to this property of the magnet, in the books of Chinese mythology, or fabulous portion of the history of that empire. It is there related, that in the reign of Chin-nong, a rebel, of the name of Choo-yoo, had found, in order the better to elude or confound his enemies, the means of creating at his pleasure, thick fogs, and even utter darkness; to prevent the effect of which, the Emperor invented a machine, consisting of a figure standing in a chariot, with one arm stretched out, and pointing always to the southward; which circumstance enabled the Imperial troops to follow the proper track for discovering and overthrowing the rebel.

The Emperor Caung-shee was well aware, however, that the needle does not always point directly, either to the south or north; and that

this declination is not the same in all countries, nor invariable in the same place; but the sphere of Chinese navigation is too limited to have afforded experience or observation for forming any system of laws supposed to govern the variation of the needle. Their knowledge of the general polarity of the magnet answers every purpose, in practice, to that nation; and their researches upon most subjects seem to have been directed chiefly, and to be too often circumscribed, by the immediate prospect of utility resulting from the continuance of every particular pursuit.

The Chinese pilots had soon occasion to perceive how much more essential the perfection of the compass was to the bolder navigators of Europe, than to themselves, as the commanders of the Lion and Hindostan, trusting to that instrument, stood out directly from the land into the open sea.

The squadron entered into the Yellow sea on Tuesday the ninth of July. The weather was dark and cloudy. A thick fog covered the horizon. A heavy swell came from the east-south-east. The departure, or point from whence the progress of the squadron was to be computed, was the isle called Patchcock, lying in twenty-nine degrees twenty-two minutes north latitude,

and one hundred and twenty degrees fifty-two minutes east longitude. The ships, when sailing in six fathoms water, drew up the mud in such quantities, that each left in her wake a streak of yellowish brown for near half a mile: a circumstance, which, to persons not apprized of it, would be apt to create alarm, lest it should denote a sudden shoaling of the water.

Wednesday, the tenth of July. Thick, hazy weather, and a constant heavy swell from the eastward. The wind, during the former and middle part of the day, blew from the north-west to west. In the latter part, the weather nearly calm. In the morning, two islands were perceived, which the pilots called Chin-san, and Shoo-tong-yeng, bearing north-west by west, distant eight or nine leagues. Soundings from thirty-two to thirty-seven fathoms; bottom fine sand.

Thursday, the eleventh of July. Light airs and calms during the first part of the day. In the evening, a breeze sprung up from the southward. At five in the morning, two new islands, small and rocky, were discovered to the westward, seven or eight leagues distant. The pilots called those islands Pa-cha-san and Te-chong. Soundings at noon thirty-six fathoms.

Friday, the twelfth of July. In the beginning

of this nautical day, the wind was at south to south-east, with a very thick fog. The water shoaled almost suddenly from thirty-six to seventeen fathoms. The bottom, grey sand, with black specks. The pilots observed, that the squadron was then opposite the Chinese province of Kiang-nan; and that in the neighbourhood were large shoals, the approach to which was announced by the bottom being sandy. In the morning, the fog became so thick that it was scarcely possible to see from one end of the Lion to the other. It may be difficult to explain why a shallow sea should generally have the atmosphere over it foggy; but the fact has been observed likewise upon the banks of Newfoundland, and other places, covered with little water. Another circumstance took place, not, perhaps, more easily to be accounted for. In the shallowest parts, but where no land was visible above water, swarms of the dragon fly suddenly appeared about the ships, which, in deeper water, quickly disappeared.

Efforts were made to keep the ships together during the fog, by firing guns in the way of fog signals; notwithstanding which, the Hindostan was separated this day from the rest of the squadron. Shortly afterwards, she perceived

three large Chinese vessels, which, by choice or accident, had deviated from the usual system amongst them of sailing near the coast. The soundings hereabouts were found by all the squadron to vary so frequently and suddenly, that notwithstanding the presence of the pilots, it was thought expedient to proceed with uncommon caution, and even sometimes to lay to. The soundings throughout this sea never exceeded forty-two fathoms. In the deepest water, the bottom was mostly muddy; and sand was found usually where the water shoaled. The pilots observed, that the thickest fogs accompanied the south-east winds, which lasted generally four or five days at a time.

Saturday, the thirteenth of July. The wind south east, and weather thick, with very few clear intervals. The lead was cast every hour to ascertain the soundings.

Sunday, the fourteenth of July. The wind continued from the same quarter. This morning, the fog being for a time dispelled, several land birds appeared, and sea weed and bamboos were seen floating upon the water; together with other indications of being near land. A number of junks, or Chinese vessels, were likewise perceived steering different ways.

In the separate route of the Hindostan, she saw this day a small square rigged European vessel. A Chinese junk in the European seas would not have occasioned more surprise, had not an intimation been given from Macao, that the commissioners had sent from thence, before the squadron arrived in the neighbourhood of that place, a vessel with dispatches for the Embassador. It was the Endeavour brig commanded by Captain Proctor. She had also on board a young man who could speak Spanish and Chinese; and meant to offer his services as an additional interpreter to the Embassy. The Endeavour belonged to the East India Company, and had been employed, under the command of a gentleman of science of the name of M'Cluer, in a voyage of observation and discovery thro the great eastern Archipelago, comprehended in what are called the Chinese seas, according to the liberal plan pursued, in many instances, by the India Company, of attending to the promotion of knowledge, in the midst of its commercial undertakings. Captain M'Cluer was considered as a diligent and capable observer. He had either visited formerly the Pelew islands, or had formed an exalted idea of the climate, and of the disposition of the inhabitants, from the very

interesting account which has been published of them by Mr. Keate, from the materials furnished by Captain Wilson. Captain M'Cluer determined to seek for that happiness in the Pelew islands which he considered, no doubt, as less attainable in a larger and more complicated, but, perhaps a more corrupt, society. He had this project in contemplation for some time; and provided whatever he thought might be conducive to his comfort in his new residence. On his arrival there, he gave up his vessel to the gentleman next in command to him, and wrote a letter to his employers, assigning, among other reasons, for the step he had taken, the desire he felt of distinguishing himself by a conduct of which few examples had previously been afforded. He was well received by the natives of the Pelew islands, and honourable distinctions, with considerable authority amongst them, offered to him, which he declined, contenting himself with a moderate portion of land allotted to him; and better pleased to benefit the country of his adoption, by the advice which his superior knowledge and experience might enable him to give, than to exercise any command amongst them. Such a procedure was certainly as likely to secure to him the permanent attachment of the people, as the

assumption of power would be to excite, in the course of time, jealousy and discontent. It is far, however, from being certain that no accident will happen to disturb the harmony subsisting at present between this hospitable race and their new guest; and that no change will take place in his own disposition, recalling those affections and partialities which attach most men to their original connections and ancient habits.

Captain Proctor confirmed, in many instances, the favourable accounts given of the Pelew islands by Captain Wilson. So far from a ferocity of character, or even dislike of strangers, the inhabitants entertain those who come among them with the utmost kindness, and enrol some of the principal, as they did Captain Wilson and Captain Proctor, in the list of their nobility. The latter, who had visited some of the neighbouring parts of New Guinea, where, on the contrary, strangers are generally treated with inhumanity, is inclined to attribute so different a behaviour more to a sense of resentment for acts of treachery and cruelty exercised against them by foreign adventurers arriving upon their coasts, than to the predominance of bad qualities naturally inherent in their own character.

The Endeavour, which had called at Chu-san,

brought from thence such a pilot as was first offered to the squadron. He conducted her close to the Chinese shore with little danger to the Endeavour, as she drew but a few feet water. She passed near the island of Tsung-ming, opposite the river Kiang. This island, unlike those of Chu-san, is very low, and, to appearance, formed of earth brought down by the current of the river; between the mouth of which and the island, the water is extremely shallow. The land seemed to be gaining upon the water very fast; and it is not unworthy of notice, that in the map preserved in the ducal palace of Venice, supposed to be taken, (as far as relates to China) in great measure, from the draught made by the celebrated traveller of that city, in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo, no traces are found of the island Tsung-ming, tho those of Chu-san, not much to the southward of it, are distinctly marked. Whether it was at that period as yet so small, as not to be thought worthy of being noticed, or so low, as to be passed by him unobserved, cannot now be ascertained. If that island had, in fact, increased in any considerable degree in the space of five centuries only, it must have undergone, previously to that period, changes of an opposite kind. And it is not dif-

ficult to conceive that soft earth, gradually thrown out from the mouth of a great river, and deposited where the further impulse of the stream was resisted by the rising tide, might be liable to be put again in motion, and washed suddenly away by the force of some mighty torrent overcoming the obstacle that had been formed by the same river in its usual and gentler course.

In the neighbourhood of Tsung-ming, and along the coast of China, Captain Proctor met several small junks, with mandarines on board, cruizing about, by order of the Emperor, to find out and welcome the Embassador, as well as to conduct him into port; but they seldom went out of the depth of two fathoms, not aware that the Lion, which had his Excellency on board, drew about double that quantity of water; so little had the people here any just idea of the size, or rather the construction, of English ships: those of China, tho often of very considerable bulk, are more flat bottomed even than most Dutch vessels.

The Lion kept to the eastward of the track of the Hindostan, and nearer, tho not in sight of, the western coast of the peninsula of Corea, which stretches from Tartary in a southern direction. The peninsula of Shan-tung extends

from the main continent of China so far to the eastward, as to reduce the breadth of the Yellow sea to forty leagues, or thereabouts, between the eastern extremity of Shan-tung and the opposite shore of the peninsula of Corea.

Both divisions of the squadron had, on the fifteenth, the wind from the southward, attended, part of the day, with a fog. While it was clear, the Hindostan perceived a small cone-shaped island, called by the pilot Ka-té-noo; and, on the next day, came in sight of the rugged land of Shan-tung promontory, as well as of a small island to the southward of it. At this place, a slight current was observed to set to the northward. The longitude here was found by the mean of several observations of the distance between the sun and moon, to be one hundred and twenty-two degrees forty minutes east. The observed latitude was thirty-five degrees ten minutes north; from hence the Lion steered north by west by compass, until she got into the latitude of thirty-six degrees twenty minutes north. The water then began rapidly to shoal from forty to sixteen, fourteen, and twelve fathoms, there being a difference of two fathoms every quarter of an hour; the bottom sandy. Such a sudden shoaling of the water naturally occasioned ap-

prehension. It was, however, calmed more by the reports of the brigs, which were kept going ahead, and constantly heaving the lead, than by the assertions of the pilots, whose ignorance of the English language made them sometimes pass for being ignorant of their business.

On the sixteenth the island which the Hindostan observed to the north-east, appeared at the same time from the Lion (being to the eastward) to the north-west. The ships and brigs all joined on Wednesday the seventeenth. They perceived on that day two headlands or capes, which, together with the island just mentioned, are likely to be the first lands made by ships navigating directly from the southward towards the gulf of Pekin. It was thought, therefore, by the Commander of the expedition, desirable to ascertain their situation with exactness, and to give each a name. These three points of land, with their latitudes and longitudes, are as follow:

North Latitude of	Cape Macartney -	36° 54′
	Cape Gower - -	36 57
	Staunton's Island -	36 47

East Longitude of	Cape Macartney -	122° 12′ / 122 20
	Cape Gower - -	122 15 / 122 23
	Staunton's Island -	122 9 / 122 17

Cape Macartney, when bearing from north-north-east to north-west, has a remarkable appearance of six pointed peaks. Within this cape was an inlet, in which several small vessels were descried at anchor. Near Cape Gower is a reef of rocks running out from a neck of land. The ground being foul, it was deemed prudent not to approach too near; but a snug harbour appeared to be within the low point, the entrance to which was between Cape Gower and the reef already mentioned. A great number of vessels were perceived within the harbour, behind which was seen a town of considerable extent.

Thursday the eighteenth of July. The wind for the most part, easterly, and the weather foggy. In the course of the afternoon, the squadron passed another harbour, which was spacious, and contained several large junks. At this time the northernmost extremity of Shantung promontory bore north by west about eight leagues. When seen from this situation the

highest and most projecting point of land appears in the form of an oblate cone, with its vertex elongated, as if on the summit were erected a spire or a pagoda; and it was familiarly compared to a mandarine's bonnet. Between Cape Macartney and the above point, the coast in general is bold; and the mountains appear to extend far into the country. They were interspersed with beautiful vallies along the shore, highly cultivated, with inlets fit for the reception and security of flat bottomed vessels, such as those of the Chinese.

Friday the nineteenth of July. The wind from east-south-east to north; the weather hazy. The squadron now considering itself as sufficiently clear of the Shan-tung peninsula, and having rounded the extreme eastern land of China, steered west by north. At midnight there was so very thick a fog that it was thought advisable to lie to. When, in the course of the following morning, it cleared up, the ships and brigs found themselves close upon a small rocky island, bearing south-east half east two miles, and from a point upon ths continent within it south-east half east five miles. Here is an appearance of a convenient harbour, at least for vessels not drawing much water. Soundings,

three miles from the shore, sixteen and eighteen fathoms; bottom soft mud.

The weather being now perfectly clear, the squadron made sail and stood to the westward, in a course parallel to the coast, at the distance of five or six miles. From the small island, last mentioned, the westernmost visible point of land is a remarkable cone-shaped hill, which terminates a range of broken mountains, distant from the island about eight leagues west by south. Part of this coast is rocky and barren, but in general it is level cultivated ground, terminating in a sandy beach. As soon as this last conical point was doubled by the squadron, a second came in sight, having near it a small hill, with a knob upon its top. Between these two points a course was steered nearly due west, within two or three miles of the shore, in seven or eight fathoms water. Vast crowds of people were here assembled on the rising grounds to see the European vessels pass. Beyond the last point, the squadron got into a deep bay, which the pilots were understood to say was the harbour they had mentioned before they left Chu-san, as fit to receive the squadron. But it was soon discovered, by the means of the people, whom curiosity had attracted from the shore, that this was the bay of

Ki-san-seu; and that of the harbour of Mi-a-tau was in an island distant fifteen leagues father to the westward, and differing in latitude a few miles only to the northward.

The bay of Ki-san-seu is spacious, and well sheltered from every wind, except from east-north-east to east-south-east, being the direction of the entrance into the bay. It is shut in to the northward by a group of ten or twelve small islands, and a number of large rocks; and is inclosed by the continent on the western and southern sides. This bay extends from east to west at least ten miles, and nearly as much from north to south. Within it are two harbours; one behind a high bluff point, called Zeu-a-tau, which has four fathoms depth of water, and had in it a great number of Chinese vessels; the other behind a small projecting tongue of land, on the south-east side of the bay, in the mouth of a river called Ya-ma-tao. The number of junks perceived in almost every bay along this coast, indicates a considerable interchange of commodities between this and other provinces of China. Such a circumstance, beside adding to the population by the many who are necessarily employed in carrying on this intercourse, introduces more of the movement and bustle of busy

life, than is generally observed among the quiet tho industrious cultivators of the soil. Across the mouth of the river Ya-ma-tao is a bar, over which are only two fathoms and a half of water, but immediately without it, are four and five fathoms: the width of the river, from a quarter to half a mile. The country immediately behind the bay, though not very mountainous, has yet a barren aspect; and the inhabitants bear strong marks of poverty. Between Zeu-a-tau point and one of the islands to the eastward, forming the group already mentioned, there is a narrow passage, lying directly north and south, leading out of the bay of Ki-san-seu, and through which there are eight, nine, and ten fathoms water close to the shore on either side; but near the eastern islands of the same group, there are small sandy keys, or banks, which are perceived only when they are near, as they are almost even with the surface of the water. The bluff point, or cape, of Zeu-a-tau is the extremity of a small, but bold and rugged peninsula, stretching to the northward. Along the centre of the great peninsula of Shan-tung, in the direction of east and west, ran a high range of mountains, the sides of which consist in great measure of a perpendicular and naked mass of granite.

A day was consumed in the bay of Ki-san-seu; but on Sunday the twenty-first, the squadron, after being provided with new pilots, stood out through the passage between cape Zeu-a-tau and the islands, keeping nearer to the former than to the latter. A little to the westward of the most northern point of Zeu-a-tau, was a bay, into which several vessels were seen entering. And upon the original map of China, on a very large scale, constructed with great apparent accuracy, by the missionaries in the last century, and now in the possession of a great and revered Personage, a convenient and safe harbour is here laid down.

The course, after clearing the east point, was north-north-west for two miles; then north-west by north, north-west, and west, keeping the coast well on board all the way. After continuing thus till the evening, the squadron hauled round a projecting headland, very similar to that of the entrance of the bay of Ki-san-seu. Here also all the rising grounds were covered with spectators. The hills behind the coast, along which the ships sailed this day, had a peculiar character, and appeared to be rather the effect of art than of nature. Their sides were rounded off

as with the spade; and on the summit of each stood a small heap of earth, in form of a barrow, or ancient burying place.

After having hauled round this last projecting headland, another bluff point appeared due west from the former, and about eight miles distant from it. The shore between those two points formed a kind of bay, called Ten-choo-foo bay, which is open to the east and west; but partly sheltered in the northern quarter by groups of small islands, scattered about at different distances, from five miles to twice as many leagues, off the main shore. Those islands appear to extend two-thirds of the breadth of the sea in this part, leaving only a strait between the opposite projecting point of the province of Lea-tung, and the northernmost cluster of those islands. Among these were two islets, remarkable for the regularity of their form as truncated cones, and looking like glass-houses rising from the sea. They were, most probably, produced by the explosion from volcanoes of matter of such light weight, and impelled with so moderate a force, as to continue where first it fell; and thus, gradually, to rise into a heap, assuming the regular figure just mentioned.

The squadron came to anchor, in seven fa-

thoms water, in the bay of Ten-choo-foo, within two or three miles north-east of the city of that name. The anchorage was foul, with hard ground and shells. The Clarence was therefore immediately sent to examine the neighbouring harbour of Mi-a-tau, mentioned as a place of safety for the squadron. In the mean time, its arrival and purpose were announced by an officer to the governor of Ten-choo-foo. The termination of this name denotes, in the Chinese language, that it was a city of the first order, having several middling and small towns within its jurisdiction. It was built on a rising ground, and appeared large from the ships' decks; and was fortified by a strong wall round it.

While Europe yet was barbarous, and individuals collected together for the safety of their persons and properties, the expence and difficulty of surrounding towns with fortifications, introduced, probably, the custom of building houses consisting of several stories, or floors, one above another, in order that the extent of the protecting wall might be the less considerable. The state of society must have been different in this part of China when the fortifications of Ten-choo-foo were erected; for they included no

small proportion of ground not occupied by buildings; and either this city was expected to increase in houses to a number it has not yet attained; or the vacant space was allotted for military or other exercises or occupations.

The bay, or rather road, of Ten-choo-foo, not only is open to the eastward and westward, but is not well sheltered from the northward, the Mi-a-tau islands being too distant to break off much of either wind or swell from that quarter. The anchoring ground consists, in great part, of hard sharp rocks; and at about a mile and a quarter from the shore, is a dangerous reef, covered at high water, extending nearly a mile east and west, round which the water shoals so suddenly as to render any approach to it very perilous. At Ten-choo-foo is constructed a kind of dock, or bason, for vessels to load or discharge their cargoes. The entrance into it is between two piers, and is from thirty to forty feet in width. The ground near the sea coast is richly cultivated, and rises in a gentle ascent, which is terminated by high, broken, and barren mountains apparently granitical.

The passage between Ten-choo-foo and the Mi-a-tau islands is called, the Strait of Mi-

a-tau. The rise and fall of the tides in this strait are about seven feet. The flood tide runs east towards the sea, from whence it naturally should flow. The ebb, on the contrary, which properly is the reflux of the water into the sea, is here carried from it to the westward, into the gulf of Pekin. This extraordinary phenomenon does not arise from the position of the Mi-a-tau islands, whose size bears too small a proportion to the large surface of the sea, out of which they rise like so many points, to impede the progress, or change the direction, of the tide. A consideration of the northern boundaries of the Yellow sea may lead to a more satisfactory explanation. A strong tide, setting from the southward through the passage between the eastern promontory of Shan-tung and the peninsula of Corea, continues its northerly and impetuous course till impeded by the coast of Lea-tung. This resistance forces it along that coast to the westward, and to the gulf of Pekin, where it follows the smooth sandy beach in a curve direction, according to the shape of the gulf, until it arrives at Ten-choo-foo, with a degree of strength sufficient to counteract, and even overcome, the weakened efforts of the eddy tide, setting round

the projecting point of the Shan-tung province.

As soon as the governor of Ten-choo-foo was informed that the Embassador was on board the Lion, he sent to him a present, consisting of fresh provisions and fruit: and afterwards came on board to visit him. The governor was attended by a great number of persons; one of whom having had occasion to speak to him as he was passing along the ship's deck, immediately threw himself upon his knees, and, in that posture, communicated his business, to the great surprise of the English spectators: a surprise that was heightened by the undisturbed countenance of the governor, as if accustomed to be accosted in that manner. This instance of the extreme distance between ranks did not seem, however, to proceed either from any particular haughtiness on the one part, or abjectness on the other; but indicated the respective disposition, brought about by forms, established for inducing habits of subordination in society. Such are considered, indeed, in China, as contributing more effectually to the prevention of tumult and disorder, than does the dread of punishment in other countries. Tho the meeting, even of equals,

begins with much ceremony and mutual demonstrations of respect, yet these very soon give way to a free and familiar intercourse. The governor of Ten-choo-foo, in his interview with the Embassador, testified not only great politeness, but much ease and affability; and it was apparent upon this occasion, as well as from what was observed at Chu-san, that the solemnity of behaviour attributed, in many accounts of the country, as a general character, to the Chinese, was only an appearance assumed by them in the presence of those whom they considered as their inferiors.

The governor gave an invitation, which was declined, to the Embassador and his suite to entertainments and plays on shore, as indeed had done the governor of Chu-san, in order, in some small degree, to correspond, as they expressed it, with the splendid reception which it was understood their Sovereign intended for his Excellency, when he should arrive at the Imperial court.

The eclat of such a reception was, no doubt, likely to operate upon the minds of the people of China, who look with more than an ordinary degree of reverence to the throne. It might tend to impress them with a general sense of consi-

deration for the English nation, of which the agents of the English East India Company at Canton might experience effects conducive to their benefit and comfort. Every consideration demanded at the same time, that the individuals who composed or accompanied, the Embassy, should, by the correctness and circumspection of their conduct, avoid giving offence, where it was so easily taken at any disorder or lightness of behaviour; and should endeavour, wherever they went, to gain upon the private good opinion of the Chinese: thus to counteract the prejudices which the Company's records testify to have been entertained in that country against the morals and manners of the English.

The Embassador determined, therefore, when the squadron was already advanced in the Yellow sea, and likely to arrive soon at its destined port in the gulf of Pekin, to disperse a paper throughout the squadron; which was publicly read to the crews and passengers of each vessel. His Excellency in this paper observed, that "it was impossible that the various important objects of the Embassy could be obtained "but through the good will of the Chinese; that "such good will might much depend on the

"ideas which they should be induced to enter-
"tain of the disposition and conduct of the
"English nation; of whom they could only
"judge from the behaviour of those who came
"amongst them; that the impressions which had
"hitherto been made upon their minds, in con-
"sequence of irregularities committed by some
"Englishmen at Canton, were unfavourable to
"the degree of their being considered as the
"worst amongst Europeans; that those impres-
"sions were communicated to that tribunal in
"the capital, which reported to, and advised,
"the Emperor upon all concerns with foreign
"countries; that it was therefore essential, by
"a conduct particularly regular and circum-
"spect, on the part of those who belonged to, or
"were connected with, the Embassy, to impress
"the Chinese with new, more just, and more
"favourable ideas of Englishmen; and to shew,
"even to the lowest officer in the sea or land
"service, or in the civil line, that they were
"capable of maintaining, by example, and by
"discipline, due order, sobriety, and subordi-
"nation among their respective inferiors; that,
"tho the people of China had not the smallest
"share in the government, yet it was a maxim
"invariably pursued by their superiors, to sup-

" port the meanest Chinese in any difference
" with a stranger, and if the occasion should
" happen, to avenge his blood; of which, indeed,
" there had been a fatal instance not long since
" at Canton, where the gunner of an English
" vessel, who had been very innocently the
" cause of the death of a native peasant, was exe-
" cuted for it, notwithstanding the utmost united
" efforts of the several European factories at
" Canton to save him. Peculiar caution and
" mildness must consequently be observed in
" every sort of intercourse or accidental meeting
" with any, the poorest individual, of the
" country.

" His Excellency, who well knew that he need
" not recommend to Sir Erasmus Gower to make
" whatever regulations prudence might dictate on
" the occasion, for the persons under his imme-
" diate command, as he hoped Captain Mackin-
" tosh would do for the officers and crew of the
" Hindostan, trusted also that the propriety and
" necessity of such regulations calculated to pre-
" serve the credit of the English name, and the
" interest of the mother country in these remote
" parts, would ensure to them a steady and
" cheerful obedience; and that the same motives,
" he flattered himself, would operate likewise

" upon all the persons immediately connected " with, or in the service of, the Embassy.

" His Excellency declared, that as he should " be ready to encourage, and to report favour- " ably upon, the good conduct of those who " should be found to deserve it, so he should " think it his duty, in case of misconduct, or " disobedience of orders, to report the same with " equal exactness, and to suspend or dismiss " transgressors, as the occasion might require; " nor, if offence should be offered to a Chinese, " or a misdemeanour of any kind be committed, " which might be punishable by the laws of " China, would he deem himself bound to in- " terfere, for the purpose of endeavouring to mi- " tigate or ward off their severity.

" His Excellency relied on Lieutenant Co- " lonel Benson, commandant of his guard, that " he would have a strict and watchful eye over " the individuals that composed that body. " Vigilance, as to their personal demeanour, " was as requisite in the present circumstances, " as it is, tho from other motives, in regard to " the measures of an enemy in time of war. The " guard was to be kept constantly together, and " regularly exercised in all military evolutions; " nor were any of them to absent themselves

"from on board ship, or from whatever place "might be allotted for their dwelling on shore, "without leave from his Excellency, or their "commanding officer. None of the mechanics "or servants were to leave the ship, or usual "dwelling on shore, without leave from the "Embassador, or from Mr. Maxwell; and his "Excellency expected that the gentlemen in his "train would show the example of subordina- "tion, by communicating their wishes to him "before they went from the ship, or their usual "habitation ashore.

"His Excellency, in the most earnest manner, "requested that no person whatever belonging "to the ships be suffered, and he desired that "none of his suite, guard, mechanics, or ser- "vants, would presume, to offer for sale, or pro- "pose to purchase, the smallest article of mer- "chandize of any kind, under any pretence "whatever, without leave from him previously "obtained. The necessity of avoiding the least ap- "pearance of traffic, accompanying an Embassy "to Pekin, was such as to have induced the East "India Company to forego the profits of a new "market, and prevented them from shipping any "goods for sale in the Hindostan, because the "dignity and importance of the Embassy, in the

" eyes of the Chinese, would be utterly lost, and " the good consequences expected from it, even " on commercial points, totally prevented, if " any actual transactions, tho' in trifles, for the " purpose of gain, should be discovered amongst " any of the persons concerned in conveying, or " attending upon, an Embassador: transactions, " of which a report would soon infallibly spread " into that of a general system of trading. From " this strictness his Excellency would willingly " relax, whenever such advances should have " been made by him in negotiation as would se- " cure the object of his mission; and when a " permission from him to an European, to dis- " pose of any particular article of merchandize, " should be considered as a favour granted to the " Chinese purchaser.

" His Excellency took that opportunity of " declaring also, that however determined his " sense of duty made him to forward the objects " of his mission, and to watch, detect, and pu- " nish, as far as in his power, any crime, dis- " obedience of orders, or behaviour tending to " endanger or delay the success of the present " undertaking, or to bring discredit on the " English character, or occasion any difficulty " or embarrassment to the Embassy; so, in like

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" manner, should he feel himself happy in be-
" ing able, at all times, to report and reward the
" merit, as well as to promote the interest, and
" indulge the wishes, of any person who accom-
" panied him on that occasion, as much as might
" be consistent with the honour and welfare of
" the public."

The reader, who may already wish to know the effect of such a paper upon the persons to whom it was addressed, will be gratified in hearing, not only that the Embassador thought himself justified in reporting very favourably of their general conduct; but that a mandarine of rank, who accompanied the Embassy throughout, declared before he parted from it, that the same number of Chinese taken from the different ranks of society, would not have demeaned themselves with so much quiet and decorum.

What further precautions might be necessary to be taken by the Embassador previously to his entering China, would partly depend on the situation of the squadron while he should be absent from it. The first object was to know whether it could have a secure retreat in the harbour of Mi-a-tau. On the return of the Clarence from thence, the officer reported that " a reef of rocks, " lying off the east end of the easternmost of the

" Mi-a-tau islands, called Chan-san, and stretch-
" ing north-east by north and south-west by south
" two miles, formed the only eastern security of
" the bay before Chan-san. The continent be-
" hind the city of Ten-choo-foo sheltered this
" bay, in some measure, from the southern, as
" the island itself did from the northern, winds.
" To the westward it was entirely open; and
" this bay was certainly preferable to the an-
" chorage off Ten-choo-foo; but that the reef
" was a dangerous object, and should not be ap-
" proached nearer than where the soundings were
" nine fathoms, as the water shoaled close to it
" very suddenly. The Clarence anchored in
" this bay, within a mile of the shore, in seven
" fathoms, in a clayey holding ground. This
" island was about three miles in length, and
" nearly as many in breadth; was well culti-
" vated, populous, and commercial.

" The centre island was properly Mi-a-tau.
" Between it and the former was a bay, of which
" the issues were from the northward and south-
" ward, through passages notmore than a quar-
" ter of a mile in width, and free from danger.
" This bay was safe, and sufficiently capacious
" to contain near a hundred sail of vessels, of a
" size small enough to anchor in three fathoms

" water. The bottom was clayey, and conse-
" quently good holding ground. This island
" was smaller than Chan-san, but with a degree
" of population and culture equally great in pro-
" portion to its size.

" Kei-san was the westernmost of that small
" cluster of islands. It formed with the last,
" or proper Mi-a-tau, a very good bay for ves-
" sels requiring not more than two and three
" fathoms water. A dangerous reef of rocks off
" the west point stretched north-east and south-
" west one mile, and might be approached with-
" in a cable's length, there being at that distance
" three fathoms water. That reef formed the
" western security of the bay, and must be kept
" to the left on entering into it. The low ground on
" Kei-san was in a good state of cultivation, with
" several considerable villages; but the hills were
" quite barren. Opposite the high bluff wes-
" terly point, were six fathoms and a half of
" water a mile from the shore."

The report of the Clarence left no room to hope for any permanent shelter at Mi-a-tau for ships of such a size as the Lion and Hindostan; and took away from whatever confidence might have been placed in the Chinese pilots, who had given so favourable a description of the harbour

there. It was now determined by Sir Erasmus Gower, before the squadron should venture into the gulf of Pekin, of which the strait of Mi-a-tau might be considered as the entrance, to send an officer to examine particularly the mouth of the river which fell into it from Tien-sing, in order exactly to ascertain whether the ships might venture to it, and whether they could be in any place of safety, while it might be necessary to remain in its neighbourhood. The Jackall was dispatched for this purpose. She was, however, scarcely gone when a new Chinese pilot was recommended, as a person perfectly well acquainted with the gulf of Pekin, and river leading to Tien-sing. He was a man of venerable aspect, was plausible in his manner, and appeared to be skilled in nautical affairs. He asserted that there was an excellent harbour within six miles of the Pei-ho, or white river, which flows from Tien-sing, with plenty of water for ships of any magnitude; and in confirmation of the fact, drew a sketch of the place, with its relative situation in regard to the northern coast of the gulf, and to the mouth of the river. The road of Ten-choo-foo, where the squadron was then at anchor, was so unsafe that there was little likelihood of changing for the worse, even if this new pilot's in-

formation should be incorrect. The determination was therefore taken, of entering without further delay into the gulf of Pekin.

In the afternoon of the twenty-third of July, the wind being easterly, and the weather moderate, clear, and pleasant, the squadron made sail, keeping the Mi-a-tau islands on the right. The sea coast to the westward, round the high bluff point of Ten-choo-foo, is perfectly flat, and was just visible from the deck. There is either a large inlet on this part of the coast, or a low island lying near it, for the masts of several junks were perceived rising from within the land. The Lion, on her return afterwards from the gulf, discovered an extensive reef stretching east by south and west by north for the distance of two miles, with three fathoms and a half of water upon the shallowest part, from whence the bluff head of Ten-choo-foo lay east by south eight or nine miles, and Kei-san island north by west. Soundings this day irregular, from twelve to nine, and then to fifteen fathoms; chiefly about twelve.

Wednesday the twenty-fourth of July. Moderate breezes from the south-east quarter, and fine clear weather. At three o'clock in the morning the water shoaled suddenly from fourteen to nine

fathoms, and soon as low as six fathoms and a half. Presently afterwards the Clarence, which had been sent ahead, fired several muskets as signals of danger; upon which the ships wore round, and stood off to the east-south-east. The surge beating upon rocks or shallow ground was heard distinctly. At six in the morning, when it was almost calm, a long range of low sandy islands was just visible, being little higher than the surface of the sea. At noon the extremities of these sandy islands bore by compass from west by north to north, the latter point distant about eight miles. On the easternmost island is a tall building erected, as the pilot mentioned, for the purpose of warning ships, in the night time, to keep clear of the sands with which those islands are surrounded.

Thursday the twenty-fifth of July. The wind south and south-westerly, light breezes and weather clear. The squadron stood to the westward under easy sail, inclining a little to the southward, to keep clear of the low islands. The depth of water regularly decreased from fifteen to seven fathoms, when another small low island appeared bearing north, and distant about six miles. The squadron from hence stood on a western course till midnight, when, tho the Lion's

depth of water was six fathoms, the Clarence made the signal of danger. The ships consequently hauled their wind to the south-east, and deepened the water to ten fathoms: standing on this course about four miles, and then bearing away west-north-west four miles more, the depth of water was decreased to six fathoms and a half, when they came to anchor. The next day, twenty-sixth of July, it rained most violently during the forenoon; and in the evening there was, for several hours together, such a series of lightning and thunder, as few on board the Lion ever before remembered. The lightning seemed to overspread the sky with immeasurable sheets of livid flame, accompanied by continued vollies of thunder, that resembled the rolling fire of well disciplined troops at a review. The sea, however, remained perfectly smooth and unruffled by these concussions of the atmosphere; and the ships rode at single anchor all the time. Soon afterwards the Jackall was perceived returning from the westward. She was surrounded by an immense number of Chinese vessels, mostly standing also from the same point. The land was not yet visible from the Lion's decks; but the tops of trees and buildings were seen exhibiting a singular appearance, as if perched up in

the air. From the masts' heads, however, a very low and sandy beach was discovered above the surface of the water, extending from north-west to west, and distant from the ship at least four leagues. Lieutenant, now Captain, Campbell, who had been sent in the Jackall to explore the coast, found that "the river Pei-ho, which comes "from Tien-sing, was distant fifteen miles from "the present anchorage of the squadron; that a "bar crossed the mouth of the river, stretching "north-north-east, and south-south-west, over "which, at low water, the depth was not more "than three or four feet, and which in many "places, was almost dry; that the tides rose and "fell six or seven feet at the mouth of the river; "and that the time of high water, at the full and "change of the moon, was about half after "three; that five or six miles outside the mouth "of the river a large bamboo beacon was placed "upon the bar, with other bamboos of a smaller "size, continued nearly in a straight line to the "shore; which were intended to serve as marks "to direct vessels entering into the river; it be-"ing meant that these beacons should be kept "close on board, and to the larboard or left "hand side. A course of west by north, ac-"cording to the compass, led up the best chan-

"nel, in a line with a fort which stands on the "south-west side of the entrance into the river, "which at its mouth was about one-third of a "mile in width, and three fathoms in depth at "low water. The city and port of Tien-sing "were reported to be thirty or forty miles by "land, from the mouth of the river, and twice "as far by water." As to the promised harbour of the pilot, not the least traces of it were to be discovered; except that there might be some shelter behind the low sandy islands against the swell of the sea; tho little against the winds. The situation of these islands agreed, indeed, exactly with the sketch which had been given by the pilot; and behind them were perceived the masts of many junks. The place, however, was not examined, from the little hope that was entertained of finding any security for large ships there. A very slight view of the land surrounding the gulf was sufficient to show that no secure harbour was likely to be found upon its shores. A good harbour is generally formed by the means of massy rocks, or at least of high and considerable mounds of compact earth, thrust forward by some irregular operation, or in some convulsion, of nature; leaving within them an inlet of the sea, which those pro-

jecting points may protect from the violence of the winds and waves; whereas the country which terminates this gulf is utterly devoid of any solid and elevated masses capable of becoming a bulwark, behind which there might be a safe retreat for shipping. Instead of such a bulwark nothing is seen but a low and level surface, the natural effect of a gradual deposition of soil washed down from the interior mountains, which soil fills up every original inequality, and meets afterwards in a regular line, the open sea, where no shelter is afforded. A part, no doubt, of the waters falling from the mountains is collected into streams which swell, by their union, into rivers; but the motion which had been acquired by such waters, in their descent from the heights, will, in some degree, be afterwards retarded, according to the extent of flat country which those rivers have to traverse. The land appearing to gain gradually here upon the sea, and consequently the extent of flat country being upon the increase, the river may be supposed to lose somewhat of the force with which it used to carry and disperse into the gulf the earth it had brought with it from the mountains. This earth is at length accumulated a

little below the river's mouth, and forms the bar which crosses it completely.

This bar does not, however, materially obstruct the navigation of Chinese ships. There are many, indeed, here of three or four hundred tons; but they are constructed with bottoms so shallow and flat, and with upper works so light, that several passed over the bar into the river, while the Jackall, of about one hundred tons, with much difficulty could follow them: the latter being built for navigating with the variable and frequently adverse winds of the European seas; and drawing, on that account, double the quantity of water, or, in other words, sinking to double the depth of junks, or Chinese vessels of equal burden. The inconvenience of falling much to leeward with a side wind, to which the flat-bottomed vessels of Europe are liable, is not very much felt in the Chinese seas, where vessels sail generally with the monsoon directly in their favour. The sails, too, of Chinese junks are made to go round the masts with so much ease; and forming so acute an angle with the sides of the vessel, that they turn well to windward, notwithstanding the little hold they have of the water.

Mr. Hütner, the foreigner alluded to in the second chapter of the first volume of this work, and who accompanied Captain Campbell in this expedition in the Jackall, reported that "he "saw, on entering into the river, a vast number "of junks, all crowded with people, many of "whom were probably attracted by the novelty "of an European vessel under sail. On board "such of the junks as were conducted with oars, "the sailors were animated by a very melodious "song, begun by the helmsman, and answered "by the rowers. It was not merely an amuse-"ment, but served to render the motion of the "oars more equal, and to fix the attention of the "men that used them. The Jackall was soon "accosted by Chinese soldiers in a boat, desir-"ing her to anchor, and wait the arrival of a "mandarine, who had inquiries to make about "her." This gentleman made his appearance "presently, with several attendants, upon the "Jackall's deck. As soon as he was satisfied "that she belonged to the expected Embassy, he "made many inquiries about the Embassador, "and the presents brought for his Imperial Ma-"jesty. As the answers were general, he, after "a little time, endeavoured to obtain a more "particular account by changing the manner

" and form of his questions; and he seemed to
" exert no little address to obtain his object.
" Tho the motion of the brig and smell of the
" tar were offensive to him, yet he continued
" long on board to collect information as to the
" size and strength of the ships attending the
" Embassador, and the number of men and guns
" on board; while one of his attendants was
" busy writing all the time of the conference, as
" if taking notes of every thing that passed. The
" mandarine concluded by declaring, that the
" Emperor had issued orders for the reception
" and accommodation of the Embassy, and of-
" fered to supply whatever might be wanted.
" The brig being obliged to wait in the river for
" the return of the tide next day, Captain Camp-
" bell and Mr. Hütner were invited on shore,
" where they were hospitably treated; but in a
" manner cross-examined, and the former ques-
" tions were repeated to them. Particular inqui-
" ries were also made as to the species of nutriment
" to which the Embassador and his suite had
" been accustomed, and how his Excellency
" wished to travel: observing that gentlemen in
" China travelled either in sedan chairs, or in
" two-wheeled carriages by land, or in commo-
" dious boats by water: which latter method was

" generally preferred wherever practicable; but " adding, that his Excellency and his suite were " to be accommodated which ever way they " wished. The mandarines spoke also about the " articles of merchandize which they supposed " were brought for sale to Pekin, and said they " might be safely deposited in the four Christian " churches in that city, where they might be " sold to great advantage. The idea of trade " was so associated with that of Englishmen, in " the minds of the Chinese, who knew them " only as venders and purchasers of goods, that " they could scarcely give credit to the assertion, " that the persons composing the Embassy were " not merchants, and that ships of war never car- " ried goods for sale, or that there was little, be- " side what was intended for presents for the " court, in any of the vessels. The proposal, " made with so little ceremony, of converting " churches into shops for the retail of merchan- " dize, which appeared singular to an European " ear, was perfectly familiar to the Chinese, " whose places of worship are occasionally made " to answer every purpose of utility to which " they may be applied. The building in which " this conversation took place was itself a temple; " and in the crowd were some of the bonzes or

"priests who ministered in it, and were remark-
"able for the contrast between their grey beards
"and their robes of rose-coloured silk.

"The mandarines, who were informed that
"the English ships could not cross the bar, im-
"mediately conceived their size to be immense,
"and formed a proportionate idea of the quan-
"tity of presents necessary to fill them. They
"gave orders for preparing junks to bring those
"presents, as well as the passengers and bag-
"gage, on shore. A considerable building near
"the river's mouth was provided for the recep-
"tion of the Embassador, where it was expected
"he would remain some days to recover from
"the fatigues of so long a voyage. And it was
"observed, that he need not precipitate his jour-
"ney to the capital, as the Emperor's birthday
"was yet at a considerable distance: these
"people not imagining that an embassy could
"be any thing more than a visit or a message of
"high compliment to their sovereign on that an-
"niversary, or on the occasion of some other
"solemn festival."

Mr. Hütner was not long returned to the Lion when several Chinese vessels appeared with live-stock, fruit, and other vegetables in such profusion that the ships could only contain a part, and the

overplus was necessarily sent back. It may not be uninteresting to read the list of what was sent at once. Twenty bullocks, one hundred and twenty sheep, one hundred and twenty hogs, one hundred fowls, one hundred ducks, one hundred and sixty bags of flour, fourteen chests of bread, one hundred and sixty bags of common rice, ten chests of red rice, ten chests of white rice, ten chests of small rice, ten chests of tea, twenty-two boxes of dried peaches, twenty-two boxes of fruit preserved with sugar, twenty-two chests of plums and apples, twenty-two boxes of ochras, twenty-two boxes of other vegetables, forty baskets of large cucumbers, one thousand squashes, forty bundles of lettuce, twenty measures of peas in pods, one thousand water melons, three thousand musk melons, beside a few jars of sweet wine and spirituous liquors; together with ten chests of candles, and three baskets of porcelain. In the same plentiful and gratuitous manner were provisions constantly supplied, without waiting for being demanded. The hospitality, and indeed the attentions of every other kind, which the Embassy and squadron experienced on all occasions, particularly at Turon bay, Chu-san, Ten-choo-foo, and here, were such as strangers

seldom meet, except in the eastern parts of the world.

Two mandarines of rank, appointed by the court, one in the military and one in the civil service, with a numerous train of attendants, approached the Lion to pay their respects to the Embassador. These mandarines, it seemed, had never been before upon salt water. They had never seen a ship of the Lion's construction, bulk, or loftiness. They were at a loss how to ascend her sides; but chairs were quickly fastened to tackles, by which they were lifted up, while they felt a mixture of dread and admiration at this easy, rapid, but apparently perilous, conveyance. In their anxiety to fulfil their duty in paying this early visit, they had crossed the bar in the first sea junk they found, which was little prepared or calculated for such passengers, being crowded, dirty, and uncomfortable. On leaving it, they were the more forcibly struck with the orderly, as well as martial, appearance upon the Lion's deck; the size and elegance of the great cabin fitted up for the Embassador, into which they were introduced, as well as the multiplied conveniences throughout the ship. They congratulated his Excellency, in the Em-

peror's name, and in their own, on his safe arrival, after traversing so great a portion of the ocean. They told him they were appointed to attend him to the Imperial court; that it was the express will of their sovereign, and their own disposition, as indeed it proved, to render his journey safe and agreeable to him. Their conduct throughout deserves that they should be introduced with particular notice in this work. The civil mandarine was a man of grave, but not austere, manners. His demeanour indicated a plain and solid understanding. He was not forward in discourse; neither appearing to aim at any thing brilliant in himself, nor to be dazzled by it in others. A faithful and benevolent discharge of his duty seemed to be the sole and simple object of his pursuit. He had been preceptor to some of the Imperial family; and was considered as a man of learning and judgment. He bore the honorary distinction of a blue globe, placed upon the bonnet covering his head. All mandarines, or persons vested with authority, from the first minister to the lowest constable, are divided into nine classes, and bear, in like manner, small globes or balls upon their bonnets, but of different colours and materials, and are distinguished, besides, by appropriate dresses,

in order to point them out to the people and to strangers; and to secure, at all times, a proper respect to their persons, and due obedience to their orders. This mandarine had likewise the title of *Ta-zhin*, or *great man*, superadded to his family name of *Chow*.

The military mandarine who accompanied Chow-ta-zhin was in the true character of his profession, "open, bold, and brave." His name was Van, and he, in like manner, was styled Van-ta-zhin, or Van the great man. Beside a red globe above his bonnet, he was honoured with another mark of favour for his services. This was literally a feather, and taken from a peacock's tail. It was given by the Emperor, with directions to wear it pendent from his bonnet. This gentleman had signalized himself in battle, and had received several wounds. His person was perfectly suited for a warrior. He was above the middle size, erect, and uncommonly muscular. In the Chinese armies, where the bow and arrow are still in use, and generally preferred to fire arms, his activity and strength, as well as his other martial qualities, were highly prized. And, tho he was no boaster, in his deportment was sometimes perceptible an honest consciousness of his prowess and achievements.

Instead of any arrogance or roughness in his disposition, good nature was conspicuous in his countenance; and his manners testified his willingness to oblige. He was cheerful and pleasant in his conversation, banishing all reserve, and treating his new friends with the familiarity of old acquaintance.

A third person of high distinction, of a Tartar race, had been sent as principal legate on this occasion by the Emperor, being himself of a Tartar dynasty; but the Legate, a man of a haughty disposition, and, besides, very fearful of the sea, waited to receive his Excellency after he should get on shore. The others, tho of a different character, were no more than the former much inclined to trust themselves upon that element; but being of Chinese origin, as well as birth, they thought it necessary to be more strict in their obedience, at which, indeed, they had occasion afterwards to rejoice.

These gentlemen were received on board the Lion with attention and cordiality. Much of the stiffness which generally accompanies a communication through the medium of an interpreter, was removed by the good humour of the parties, and the ardent desire they felt of making out one another's meaning. Their discourse by

no means partook of the guarded intercourse of strangers suspicious of each other. Sometimes before the explanation was given of the expressions used, the occasion itself suggested what was intended to be said, and gesture often came in aid of words. There was, however, so much employment for the Chinese interpreter, that a trial was now made of the skill of two persons belonging to the Embassy, to whom the Chinese missionaries had endeavoured to communicate some knowledge of their language, ever since they had left Naples together, above a year before. One of these persons applied to this study with the uninterrupted diligence of mature age, but had the mortification of finding that as yet he could scarcely understand a word of what was said to him by these new comers, to whom his pronunciation was equally unintelligible: while the other, a youth, who certainly took less pains, but whose senses were more acute, and whose organs were more flexible, proved already a tolerably good interpreter. Many words, it seems, of the Chinese tongue, of however opposite a signification, frequently differ from each other, in the utterance, only in some slight variation of accent or intonation; and which is susceptible of being more quickly caught, and

more accurately rendered by those who learn in early life, than by any who begin to attempt it after being advanced in years. So close is the approximation sometimes in the inflexions of the voice, in uttering Chinese words of different meanings, that it is not uncommon, even among the natives, in order to avoid mistakes in conversation, to add to the principal terms used, the nearest synonyms in sense, by way of explanation. The necessity of doing so arises from the use of monosyllables only in the Chinese language, which must be less distinct as admitting fewer combinations, as well as from the exclusion of some of the harsher sounds of other nations, among which the difference in the pronunciation of words is consequently more perceptible.

The two mandarines inquired if the letter brought for the Emperor by the Embassador was translated into Chinese, and requested at any rate to know the purport of it. A compliance with this request was not urged as an etiquette prescribed by the Imperial court; nor yet did it appear to have been asked from the indiscreet eagerness of curiosity; but rather was considered as a matter of ordinary course; and which might enable those mandarines more completely to fulfil the object they had in view, of obtaining and

conveying to their sovereign every information relating to the Embassy. It was, however, thought more prudent, and perhaps more decent, to reserve the communication of his Majesty's letter, at least until the arrival of the Embassador at the capital; and therefore an answer was given, that the original, with the translations of it, were locked up together in a golden box, to be delivered into the Emperor's hands.

Concerning the presents, the mandarines were peculiarly solicitous to inquire; and a list of them was formally demanded, to be sent to his Imperial Majesty. The same demand had, indeed, been made by every Chinese who had intercourse with the Embassador, or with the Commissioners at Canton, on the subject of the Embassy; and it appeared from the beginning how much curiosity had been excited respecting them. A common catalogue, containing the names of those on board the Hindostan, would not convey any idea of their qualities or intrinsic worth, or indeed be understood by any effort of translation. They would, likewise, suffer by being confounded with the mere curiosities sent usually for sale; which, however expensive, or even ingenious, were more glittering than useful. It was necessary, therefore, to make out, somewhat in the Oriental style,

such a general description of the nature of the articles, now sent, as appeared likely to render them acceptable: measuring their merit by their utility, and endeavouring even to derive some credit from the omission of splendid trifles. It was accordingly prefaced by observing, that "the King of Great Britain, willing to testify "his high esteem and veneration for his Imperial "Majesty of China, by sending an Embassy to "him at such a distance, and by choosing an "Embassador among the most distinguished cha- "racters of the British dominions, wished also "that whatever presents he should send, might "be worthy of such a wise and discerning mo- "narch. Neither their quantity nor their cost "could be of any consideration before the Im- "perial throne, abounding with wealth and trea- "sures of every kind. Nor would it be becom- "ing to offer trifles of momentary curiosity, but "little use. His Britannic Majesty had been, "therefore, careful to select only such articles as "might denote the progress of science, and of "the arts in Europe, and which might convey "some kind of information to the exalted mind "of his Imperial Majesty; or such other articles "as might be practically useful. The intent and "spirit accompanying presents, not the presents,

" themselves, are chiefly of value between sove-
" reigns."

Some of the articles were described in the following manner.

" The first and principal consists of many
" parts, which may be used distinctly, or be
" connected together, and represents the uni-
" verse, of which the earth is but a small por-
" tion. This work is the utmost effort of astro-
" nomical science and mechanic art combined
" together, that was ever made in Eurpoe. It
" shews and imitates, with great clearness and
" with mathematical exactness, the several mo-
" tions of the earth, according to the system of
" European astronomers; likewise the eccentric
" or irregular motions of the moon around it;
" and of the sun, with the planets which sur-
" round it, as well as the particular system of
" the planet, called by Europeans, Jupiter,
" which has four moons constantly moving
" about it, as well as belts upon its surface;
" and also of the planet Saturn, with its ring
" and moons; together with the eclipses, con-
" junctions, and oppositions of the heavenly bo-
" dies. Another part indicates the month, the
" week, the day, the hour, and minute, at the
" time of inspection. This machine is as simple

" in its construction, as it is complicated and " wonderful in its effects; nor does any so per- " fect remain behind in Europe. It is calcu- " lated for above a thousand years; and will be " long a monument of the respect in which the " virtues of his Imperial Majesty are held in " some of the remotest parts of the world.

" With this machine, is immediately con- " nected another, of a curious and useful con- " struction, for observing, farther and better " than had formerly been done, distant and mi- " nute bodies in the heavens, as they really " move in the great expanse: the result of such " observations demonstrating the exactness with " which those motions are imitated in the ma- " chine already described. Those observations " are made, not by looking directly at the object, " as in common telescopes, in which the powers " of sight are more limited; but by perceiving " sideways, the reflection of such object upon " mirrors, according to a method invented by a " great philosopher called Newton, and improv- " ed by an excellent astronomer called Herschel; " and who both have made such discoveries in " science, as to deserve that their names should " reach to his Imperial Majesty of China. The " powers of vision, in particular, have been

" extended by their means beyond all former " hopes or calculations.

" As astronomy is not only essentially useful " towards the perfection of geography and navi- " gation, but, from the greatness of its objects, " elevates the mind, and thus is worthy of the " contemplation of sovereigns; and has, accord- " ingly, attracted the notice of his Imperial Ma- " jesty, who has encouraged the cultivation of " that science, an useful instrument is added for " that purpose, as it may serve to explain and " reconcile the real motion of the earth, with the " apparent motion of the sun, and other celestial " bodies.

" Another article consists of a globe, repre- " senting the heavenly firmament, the ground " or general colour being azure, imitative of the " sky; on which ground, all the fixed stars are " placed in their precise relative positions. The " stars are made of gold and silver, in different " tints, and of different magnitudes, according " to the proportional size of which they appear " as viewed from the earth; together with silver " lines for the different divisions which distin- " guish the several parts of the firmament.

" Corresponding to this celestial globe, is one " representing the different continents of the

" earth, with its seas and islands: distinguishing " the possessions of the different sovereigns, ca- " pital cities, and great chains of mountains. It " is executed with peculiar care, and compre- " hends all the discoveries in different parts of " the world, made in the voyages undertaken for " that purpose by order of his Britannic Majesty, " together with the routes of the different ships " sent on those expeditions.

" Several packages contain instruments for as- " certaining time, with all the improvements and " elegance of modern inventions. One of these " points out the periods of the new and full, and " other phases or changes of the, moon. The " other indicates the state of the air, and foretells " the impending changes of the atmosphere. A " machine is added for removing air, in order to " make, in the vacant space, several curious and " extraordinary experiments, which prove the " importance of the atmosphere to animal life, " and its effects on the motion of inanimate sub- " stances.

" Likewise a machine, pointing out the diffe- " rent means, or methods, called by Europeans " the mechanical powers, which assist the natu- " ral strength of man or beast; with contrivances " for the exemplification of those powers, applied

" to the assistance and comforts of infirmity or
" age.

" The next articles consist of several pieces of
" brass ordnance used in battles, and howitzer
" mortars, which are instruments of annoyance,
" from whence combustible matter is thrown into
" the towns or fortresses of an enemy. Such in-
" struments were thought likely to be interesting
" to so great a warrior and conqueror as his Im-
" perial Majesty. To these are added other mi-
" litary weapons, such as muskets, pistols, and
" sword blades. These arms, tho richly orna-
" mented, are chiefly valuable for their useful
" qualities; the muskets and pistols for assisting
" the aim, and assuring the fire, and the sword
" blades for cutting through iron without losing
" their edge.

" His Britannic Majesty, who is acknowledged
" by the rest of Europe to be the first maritime
" power, and is truly sovereign of the seas, wished,
" as a particular mark of his attention to his Im-
" perial Majesty, to send some of his largest ships
" with the present Embassy. He was however
" obliged to fix on vessels of a less considerable
" size, on account of the shallows and sands of
" the Yellow sea, little known to European na-
" vigators; but he has sent a complete model of

" the largest British ship of war, mounting one " hundred and ten cannon of considerable cali- " ber. This model shews every the minutest " part of such a stupendous structure.

" Specimens are sent likewise of the modes in " which the best British artists work, and render " valuable, the clayey and stony substances found " in their own country. Among those specimens " are useful and ornamental vases; some imita- " tive of antiquities, and some in the best modern " taste.

" Several of these articles owe much of their " hardness and beauty to the operation of com- " mon or terrestrial fire; but a degree of heat, " vastly more intense, as well as more sudden " and astonishing in its effects, is collected im- " mediately from the sun, by means of an in- " strument, which next follows among the pre- " sents. It consists chiefly of two transparent " bodies of glass, one of a prodigious size for " such a material, and wrought by nice and per- " severing art into such a form, and so placed " and directed as not only to kindle into flame " matters easily combustible, when exposed at a " particular distance before it, but also to soften " and reduce at once into a powder or a fluid, " the hardest stones, or most refractory metals,

" of gold, silver, copper, iron, or even the new-
" discovered substance called platina, or white
" gold; which platina is more difficult of fusion
" in a common fire or furnace, than any of the
" metals formerly known in nature. The prin-
" cipal parts of this machine being as brittle in
" their composition, as it is powerful, violent,
" and instantaneous in its operations, are so dif-
" ficult to be procured without defect, and so
" liable to be broken during the attempts of the
" artist to bring them to perfection, that they are
" very rarely obtained of a considerable size; and
" one of the masses of glass now presented, is
" much the largest and most complete that was
" ever made in Europe.

" In separate cases are packed up the different
" parts of two magnificent lustres, or frames of
" glass, with gold, for containing lights to illu-
" minate the great apartments of a palace: such
" lustres varying in their form and effect, accord-
" ing to the disposition of the innumerable pieces
" which compose them. In these are placed cir-
" cular lamps which diffuse, by a method lately
" discovered, a much grander and more vivid
" light than art had been enabled to produce be-
" fore.

" Several other packages are added, consisting

" of a great number of the productions and ma-
" nufactures of Great Britain, particularly in
" wool and cotton, as well as in steel and other
" metals. In such a variety, there is a chance
" that some may be found acceptable for their
" use, their curiosity, or as objects of comparison
" with a few of the great manufactures of his Im-
" perial Majesty's dominions.

" To the specimens of such articles as were
" capable of transportation, are added several
" representations taken from nature, of cities,
" towns, churches, seats, gardens, castles, bridges,
" lakes, volcanoes, and antiquities; likewise of
" battles by sea and land, dockyards or places
" for building ships, horse-races, bull-fighting,
" and of most other objects curious or remark-
" able in the dominions of his Britannic Ma-
" jesty, and other parts of Europe; also, of se-
" veral of the most eminent persons, including
" the royal family of Great Britain; the repre-
" sentations themselves being monuments of the
" arts by which they are made in their present
" advanced state."

This description, beside being translated into Chinese, was likewise very carefully rendered into Latin by Mr. Hütner, as his Majesty's letter to the Emperor had been, in order to afford

to the missionaries in his service at Pekin, an opportunity of correcting any error which might have crept into the Chinese translation, the style of writing in that language for the court being familiar only to those who are employed about the palace. This Chinese translation was, however, sufficiently intelligible to Chow-ta-zhin and Van-ta-zhin, to occasion their admiration of its contents. A sufficient number of proper junks was provided to convey the whole across the bar; beyond which it was again necessary to tranship all the articles into vessels of another form and construction: the former being unfit to navigate up the river to the neighbourhood of the capital, and the latter too weak and delicate to resist the surge striking upon the bar, or the occasional violence of the sea without it. Other junks were supplied, likewise, for conveying the persons and baggage of the Embassy from the ships into the river, where vessels fit to navigate upon it were ready to receive them: his Excellency having signified his intention of travelling by water, as the method he understood to be the most convenient.

When the sea junks were all assembled, to the number of about thirty vessels, round the squadron, the whole exhibited a curious contrast, and

singular spectacle, of the towering masts and complicated tackling of European ships, in the midst of the low, simple, and clumsy, but strong and roomy, junks of the Chinese. Each of the latter was of the burden of about two hundred tons. The hold, or cavity below the upper deck, is divided into about a dozen distinct compartments, by partitions of two-inch plank; and the seams are caulked with a cement of lime, prepared in such a manner as to render them perfectly impervious to water, or, in the marine phrase, water-tight. This cement, Doctor Dinwiddie observes, is composed of lime and oil, with a few scrapings of bamboo: the latter article serving the same purpose as hair in English plaster. This composition, he adds, becomes very tenacious and hard, and will not burn. If, notwithstanding the oil, it possesses that incombustible quality, it is no doubt preferable to pitch, tar, or tallow, none of which are used over the wooden work, or round the ropes of Chinese vessels.

The advantages arising from dividing the holds of those vessels seem to have been well experienced; for the practice is universal throughout China. From hence it sometimes happens, that one merchant has his goods safely conveyed

in one division, while those of another suffer considerable damage from a leak in the compartment in which they are placed. A ship may strike against a rock, and yet not sink; for the water, entering by the fracture, will be confined to the division where the injury happens to be sustained; and a shipper of wares, who charters several divisions, has a chance, if one of them proves leaky, that those contained in the remainder may escape.

To the adoption of a similar plan in European merchantmen, beside the opposition of popular prejudice, and the expence, as well as uncertainty of new experiments, an objection might arise from the reduction it would occasion in the quantity of freight, and the increased difficulty of stowing bulky articles. It remains to be considered how far those objections ought to prevail against the greater security of the vessel, crew, and cargo. At any rate, the objection does not apply to ships of war, in which, to carry very heavy burdens, is not an object of consideration.

Every junk had two large masts, each of which consisted of a single tree, or piece of timber, of a diameter much greater in proportion to its length than that of European masts. Those of China carried each a square sail, generally made of

split bamboo, and sometimes of matting, composed of straw or reeds. The junks are nearly of the same flat form at both extremities. At one is a rudder, of a breadth almost equal to that of a London lighter. It is guided by ropes passing from it along each side of the vessel's quarter. Their compass-box is shut up in a small bowl in a part of the ship nearly corresponding to that where it stands in the binnacle of an European vessel. A candle is frequently kept lighted near it, and a quantity of sand is placed in the bottom of the bowl, in which are stuck some perfumed matches when an offering is intended to be made to the divinity that is supposed to preside over the sea. To that divinity an altar, well stored with trinkets and matches, is erected at the extremity of a very small cabin, round which are the births for the captain and crew, just of sufficient size to contain their persons. Each birth is supplied with a mat, by way of bed, and a hard stuffed cushion to lay the head upon. Forty or fifty men were sometimes employed to navigate one junk. They seemed all to take an equal interest, and an equal share in the conduct of the vessel; and it was understood that none of them received fixed wages, but that

each had a portion of the profit accruing from the service performed.

Into a sufficient number of those junks the presents and baggage were transhipped, tho in the open sea, without any damage. The weather indeed was fine. The stormy season, however, was approaching; and it was impossible for the squadron to make much stay in its present exposed situation. It had been intended by the East India Company, that as soon as the Hindostan should be discharged by the Embassador at Tien-sing, she should proceed to Canton to take a cargo from thence for Europe, in the usual way of trade. As she must in her route pass by Chu-san, it was now thought desirable for her to touch there, in the probability of her procuring a lading home on more advantageous terms than at Canton, if leave should happen to be granted for the purchase, at the former port, of the teas and silks of the neighbouring provinces. On this account, Captain Mackintosh was the more readily allowed by the Embassador to accompany him to Pekin, that he might have the opportunity of soliciting that permission personally from the government; and might, in his way back to join his ship, have

perhaps occasion to observe the method of manufacturing the goods he generally carried from China, relative to which the East India Company was desirous of receiving particular information. It was absolutely necessary likewise before the Embassador should leave the Lion, to determine how to dispose of her while the public business might detain his Excellency on shore. No knowledge had been obtained of a harbour sufficiently secure for her during winter, throughout the gulf of Pekin. It was thought also, that a Chinese port was the least desirable for her to continue long in, as, notwithstanding every care, some accident or difference with the natives might take place to affect the general purpose of the Embassy. The apprehension even of any disturbance might operate on such a government as that of the Chinese, to occasion the premature departure of the Embassador. Nor did Sir Erasmus Gower think it conducive to the health or discipline of his men that they should remain, any length of time, inactive. By employing a part of his leisure during the present season in sailing to Japan, with a view to sound the disposition of that court towards a mercantile connection with the English nation, his Excellency might be enabled to determine about going there,

agreeably to his instructions, in case there should be a reasonable prospect of public benefit arising from such a measure; or if Sir Erasmus Gower should find that people persevering in their usual system of exclusion, or that, otherwise, no material advantage was to be derived from any intercourse with them, the information of that commander might save the expence of the Embassy's continuing longer in Asia, for the purpose of such an expedition. Combining these considerations with the general objects of the mission, the Embassador wrote to him agreeably to the powers he had received, that "as it was impossible for the Lion to remain much longer in her present situation without the bar, which prevented the entrance of such a vessel into the Pei-ho river, he thought himself bound to state to him the manner in which he conceived it expedient for his Majesty's service that she should be employed, while the business of the Embassy might detain him at the court of Pekin; that it would no doubt be in the first place necessary that she should proceed to the nearest harbour, where she might be made ready for a voyage to some of the principal islands in the Chinese seas, after the sick should recover from the effects of the unwhole-

" some climate on the coasts of Java and Su-
" matra; that the commander would probably
" fix for that purpose on the bays of Ki-san-seu,
" or Chu-san, at which places there were small
" islands where tents might be conveniently
" erected in dry and airy situations, favourable
" for convalescents, and where, by direction of
" the neighbouring mandarines, he would be
" able to obtain refreshments of every kind. His
" Excellency knew that it was the intention of the
" commander to pay for every article received on
" board. It was possible, however, that the man-
" darines would conceive themselves bound by
" the general orders of the Emperor relative to the
" Embassy, to accept no payment for the supplies
" afforded to the Lion; but to charge for them
" in account with the Imperial treasury, and
" perhaps not without exaggeration as to quan-
" tity and value; and as it was essential that the
" Embassy should appear as little burdensome
" as possible to the Chinese, he trusted that the
" commander would give particular directions
" that no provisions or other articles be received
" on board, except what were solely for the ge-
" neral account, as absolutely necessary for the
" ship's use, or the health of the crew; and that
" nothing of any kind be allowed to come on

" board as presents to individuals. His Excel-
" lency understood that the people of the Lion
" had hitherto felt little or nothing of the scurvy,
" notwithstanding their long voyage, which cir-
" cumstance might be attributed to the frequent
" opportunities they had to breathe the air of
" land at the several places where they stopped,
" to the supplies of fresh provisions which were
" so often procured for them by their comman-
" der, as well as to his particular and persever-
" ing care for maintaining cleanliness among the
" crew, and for expelling all foul air from every
" part of the ship.

" While the necessary preparations for sea
" were going forward, which no doubt the com-
" mander could commit to the attention and
" ability of his officers, the Embassador wished
" to have the satisfaction of his company with
" him to Pekin, where, if during his stay, there
" should be any opportunity of an audience of
" the Emperor, and his Imperial Majesty should
" be disposed to ask any questions relative to the
" British navy, a person so experienced in it,
" could give him the most complete satisfaction.
" One of the brigs might remain in the Pei-ho
" river to convey him to the Lion; after which
" it was the Embassador's desire that he should

" sail away from the coast of China, so as not to " appear on any part of it till the month of May " ensuing; but to make the best of his way to " the port of Jeddo, on the southern coast of " Japan, where he would deliver to the Cubo, " or temporal sovereign of that country, a letter " from his Excellency, to which, coming to him " in so respectable a manner, it was likely he " would pay attention.

" His Excellency had little occasion to point " out what should be the principal objects of no- " tice either in the route, or there. Beside all " nautical observations and discoveries, in the " importance of which he perfectly concurred " with the commander, the latter would be able " soon to judge whether the people of Japan en- " tertain, at present, that marked aversion for " all foreigners, which had been attributed to " them formerly, by persons who might, indeed, " be influenced in their accounts by a desire of " deterring the English from renewing any at- " tempt to trade there. He might perhaps also " have an opportunity of finding out how far " their wants or fancies might lead them to pur- " chase any British manufactures; and whether, " in that case, they had, beside copper, which " England produced in abundance from its own

" mines, any goods or unwrought materials that
" might be exported profitably from thence for
" Great Britain. There was indeed at that mo-
" ment a strong impediment to any very minute
" and particular negotiation with the court of
" Japan, as it had not hitherto been found prac-
" ticable to procure a Japanese interpreter; but
" for the present purpose it would be sufficient
" to have on board such persons as understood
" the two general and common languages of the
" East of Asia, the Malay, and the Chinese. As
" to the former, the native Malay sailor, already
" serving in the Lion, who spoke some English,
" and the English sailor who spoke the Malay
" language, might be of use; and as to the
" Chinese, his Excellency would, for the public
" service, give up the personal convenience he
" expected to derive from the attendance of a ser-
" vant obtained by him from a missionary at Ma-
" cao, and who was conversant in that language,
" as well as in the Portuguese. Those three
" persons might enable the commander to fulfil
" the objects in view, not only at Jeddo, but also
" in other places to the southward, where he
" would have occasion to go from thence. As
" soon as he should receive an answer from the
" Japanese sovereign, or after waiting about a

" fortnight at Jeddo, if he should happen to find " that no answer, either written or verbal, was " likely to be returned to the letter delivered by " him, he was to proceed to Manilla, where he " was to hand to the governor of the Philippine " islands residing there, a letter from the Embas- " sador. The harbour of Cavite, at Manilla, was " described as perfectly land-locked, and was con- " venient as well as safe for ships of the largest " size, in all seasons of the year. Fresh provi- " sions of every kind were said to be procurable " there in great abundance, and at reasonable " rates. In this harbour, therefore, the Lion " should remain, until the commander found it " practicable to sail farther to the southward, " which, from the experience of Mr. Dalrymple, " would probably happen about November. Dur- " ing the commander's continuance at Cavite, he " might obtain some useful information of the " present state of the country, natural and civil, " of its trade, and of the character of the people. " It was not unlikely that in the trading port of " Manilla might be found some persons who " had been in Japan, and had acquired a know- " ledge of the language of that country. Such " a person, conversant at the same time in any " of the European tongues, or at least in the

" Chinese or Malay, would be an acquistion in " the event of the Embassador's going to execute " his commission at the Japanese court. And " there was no reward not very much exceeding " a reasonable compensation, that he would not " willingly confer on such a person; and he " would therefore subscribe to the conditions " Sir Erasmus Gower should find it necessary " to make, if he should happen to meet one in " the course of his expedition.

" In proceeding to the southward, as soon as " might be, Sir Erasmus would endeavour, be- " side other nautical observations for the im- " provement of navigation and geography, to " visit the island of Lalutaya, which, by a ma- " nuscript account of an experienced navigator, " subjoined to these instructions, appeared to con- " tain a very good harbour, and to be in other " respects advantageously circumstanced. It was " laid down in about ten degrees fifty minutes " north latitude, distant about twenty leagues to " the eastward of the long island of Palawan. It " was named in the chart of Faveau's voyage as " reduced by Mr. Dalrymple. The neighbour- " ing island of Cuyo was said to abound in all " kinds of provisions.

" From Lalutaya the Embassador wished the

" commander of the Lion to proceed to Magin-
" danao, otherwise called Mindanao; which,
" tho sometimes reckoned among the Philippine
" islands as lying very near them, was for the
" most part, if not entirely, independent of the
" Spaniards; and its government was generally
" at variance with that people.

" The Sultan of Magindanao had on former
" occasions professed himself a friend of the Eng-
" lish, and by way of encouragement to them to
" trade in his dominions, he passed to them a
" grant of the island of Bonwoot, situate near,
" and almost opposite, to the principal port of
" Magindanao. The commander was to deliver
" likewise a letter to that prince from the Em-
" bassador: and, after requesting a speedy an-
" swer, he was to visit the island of Bonwoot,
" which was described as having a convenient
" harbour. The commander's stay at Maginda-
" nao need not be more than a few days, which
" he would certainly turn to the best account,
" for the purpose of obtaining all kinds of in-
" formation. He would be able there to judge
" how far it might be practicable and safe to con-
" tinue his voyage to Gilolo, which, as one of the
" Moluccas from its situation, tho not subject to
" the Dutch, must afford matter of much useful

" knowledge and observation. In the doubt " whether he could conveniently reach so far " within the time allotted for the expedition, " and in the uncertainty also of the disposition " of the sovereign of that country towards the " English, or any Europeans, the Embassador " addressed no letter there, tho he had, beside " special commissions to particular princes, ge- " neral credentials to treat, in his Majesty's " name, with any of the powers in the Chinese " seas; but if the commander should find it " convenient to reach Gilolo, and should dis- " cover any inclination there in favour of the " English, he was to announce his Excellency's " intention of visiting that country, if his stay " in Asia would allow it, and of establishing a " connection useful to both nations.

" Either from Gilolo, or immediately from " Magindanao, Sir Erasmus Gower was to pro- " ceed to that part of the large island of Ce- " lebes which is not subject to the Dutch. His " former experience at that island would give " him uncommon advantages on the present oc- " casion, both as to the navigation in the neigh- " bourhood, and the disposition of the people. " The Embassador had only to propose, in re- " gard to Celebes, what already he had men-

" tioned in relation to Gilolo, and to request the
" commander to make under similar circum-
" stances, the same declaration of his Excel-
" lency's intentions; and the same also at the
" island of Borneo, where he hoped the Lion
" would be able to stop also, either at Bangar,
" Succedana, or at the capital, called, like the
" great island itself, Borneo. In Bangar the
" English had formerly a factory; and in the
" city of Borneo there were still supposed to be
" some British subjects, either constantly re-
" siding there, or occasionally trading to it.
" Nothing would be more desirable, or more
" consistent with the general object of the mis-
" sion, than any fair and peaceable endeavour
" to spread the use of British manufactures
" throughout every part of Asia, from whence
" any valuable return might be made to Europe,
" which was eminently the case of Borneo. The
" jealousy of the Dutch traders might be in the
" way in some parts of that extensive country;
" but others might be found where there was less
" a likelihood of interfering with them.

" The time which visiting so many places
" would take up, together with the delays which
" it might be necessary to make in the several
" ports where the commander was thus to stop,

" would probably bring him to the vernal equi-
" nox, or thereabouts; after which he should
" make the best of his way to Macao, where the
" Embassador would expect him as nearly as
" possible to the beginning of the following
" May. As no occasion was to be omitted which
" promised any sort of utility, or any addition
" to knowledge; it occurred to his Excellency
" that another and more successful trial might be
" made to get into Pulo Lingen, if that place
" should be in the Lion's track, on her return
" to the northward. The same motives of pub-
" lic benefit and gratification would have induced
" him to include in the route already pointed
" out, the eastern part of the island of Formosa
" (which was said not to belong to the Chinese),
" the several smaller islands to the eastward of
" Formosa, and the Leoo-keoo islands to the
" southward of Corea, were he not afraid of in-
" terfering too much with the other more mate-
" rial parts of the undertaking; but it would
" give him additional satisfaction, if it should
" so happen that the commander could see and
" gain information as to those places also."

The Embassador concluded these instructions by observing, that " he had without reluctance, " expressed his wishes as to the chief objects to

" be accomplished by Sir Erasmus Gower, and " had guarded them with few recommendations " of precaution, as he was impressed with so full " a confidence in the prudence and ability of " him to whom they were addressed. Sir Eras- " mus might be forced, by events which the Em- " bassador could not foresee, or circumstances " of which he was not aware, to deviate from " the route, and the instructions thus commu- " nicated to him; but his Excellency was per- " suaded, that he should have occasion to ap- " prove of his conduct; and had no doubt that " his time would be usefully employed for the " public service."

Sir Erasmus Gower " had no difficulty in " saying, that on the recovery of his people, or " of part of them, he should be able to visit the " different places mentioned in the Embassador's " instructions; that he would have the bay of " Ki-san-seu strictly examined; and should that " place furnish security for the ship, he would " stop there to establish the health of the crew; " if it did not, he conceived it would be ne- " cessary for him to proceed to Chu-san; that " a letter would be desirable to be obtained from " the Chinese government for him to those places, " that he might be supplied with refreshments,

" and the use of a building for the sick and con-
" valescents, or at any rate, a piece of ground
" on which tents might be erected for them; that
" his attention to them rendered it incumbent
" upon him to decline the proposal, however
" desirable, of going to Pekin, that he might
" continue by them, and immediately afterwards
" proceed to fulfil the objects pointed out to him
" for the public benefit."

Application was made to the mandarines for the letter which was to secure good treatment for the Lion: and it was promised to be obtained without delay from the viceroy of the province. In the mean time, as soon as all the presents and baggage were transhipped, the Embassador and his suite prepared to quit the Lion and Hindostan. Upon this occasion there was a general meeting on board the ships, between those who were to depart from them, and those who were to remain behind. Every pleasant circumstance occasioned by their having been together, now occupied their minds; and they took an affectionate farewell of each other. On the departure of the Embassador, the crews of the ships, who had indeed been picked men, and had behaved well throughout the voyage, and in consequence had lately received marks of his Excellency's

satisfaction, most readily obeyed the orders for manning the yards, as a respect to him, and gave loud cheers, which, together with the firing a salute of many guns from each of the ships, afforded a new spectacle to the Chinese.

The Embassador and most of the gentlemen of the Embassy embarked on the fifth of August, 1793, for the Pei-ho river, on board the Clarence, Jackall, and Endeavour brigs, while the remainder, with the servants, guards, musicians, and other attendants, accompanied the presents and baggage in the junks. Proceeding with a favourable breeze and a spring tide, they crossed the bar in a few hours. The neighbouring coast is so very low as to be scarcely discoverable, at two miles distance, but by means of the buildings erected on it. Upon the bar, and within it, the water is thick and muddy, altho, outside, and at the Lion's birth, it was remarkably green and clear. This bar was divided into a number of sandy banks, lying in various directions, but so high and so close to each other, as to prevent the passage, even of such vessels as the Clarence and Jackall, except at high water. The river immediately within the bar deepened to three or four fathoms. It was there, in width, about five hundred yards, and

covered almost entirely with junks and craft of every kind. On its southern bank, or to the left of the entrance, was a small village called Tung-coo, with a military post, where the troops were drawn up in compliment to the Embassador.

On the idea which had been entertained that he must be anxious to get ashore at the first land, in order to recover from the irksomeness and fatigue of so long a continuance at sea, the junks attending him suddenly let go their anchors here. His Excellency, however, preferred joining immediately the yacht, or accommodation vessel, which was waiting for him a few miles up the river. The situation of Tung-coo was not indeed inviting. The land was low and swampy, and covered, in great measure, with the long and not useless reed, then flowering, called arundo phragmites, generally found in grounds occasionally inundated. The passage from hence, as against the current of the river, was necessarily slow. The frequent shoals of this winding stream added also to the delay. When the force of an adverse current was not overpowered by the wind or tide, the vessels were tracked by human labour: a sufficient number of Chinese peasants being employed for that purpose. The

vessels, in their progress, soon passed another village called See-coo, and reached the same evening the town of Ta-coo. The terminating syllable of the names of all those places being the same, and intimating in the Chinese language their proximity to the river's mouth, as the different initiating syllables do, that the first is to the east, the second to the west, and that the last is of considerable size.

Many of the houses in these places, as well as those which were thickly interspersed between them upon the river's banks, were little better than huts with mud walls and thatched roofs. A few buildings were large, elevated, painted, and ornamented like the dwellings of opulence; but scarcely any which indicated the existence of middle ranks, or the multiplied gradations existing elswhere, between abundant wealth and absolute indigence. Among the inhabitants who appeared along the river were some women, as alert as if their feet had not been cramped. It is said, indeed, that this practice is now less frequent than formerly, at least among the lower sort, in the northern provinces. They all wear their hair, which is universally black, and strong, neatly braided, and fastened with a bodkin upon

the crown of the head. The young children were mostly naked. The men in general were well-looking, well-limbed, robust, and muscular. The eagerness of curiosity animated and perhaps improved their countenances; and they were assembled in such multitudes, that it might, with the poet, be exclaimed,

"How many goodly creatures are there here!"

CHAPTER III.

PROGRESS OF THE EMBASSY, ALONG THE RIVER PEI-HO, TOWARDS THE CAPITAL OF CHINA. DEPARTURE OF THE SHIPS FROM THE GULF OF PE-CHE-LEE.

However difficult or dangerous it had been found for unprotected strangers to penetrate far in China, those who were now entering into it, guarded by the credentials of the sovereign who sent them, and encouraged by him to whom they were proceeding, had nothing to fear for their personal safety. The people of China had not, indeed, the opportunity, by a frequent admixture with foreigners, of becoming familiar with, and reconciled to, their manners and appearance. Yet the high degree of civilization which was known to pervade every rank in that country, and the impending hand of authority restraining those, if any, who might be disposed, otherwise, to be troublesome, afforded perfect security to the present travellers.

The little fleet, in which they were embarked, of English brigs and Chinese junks, sailing to-

gether for the first time, reached, on the evening of the fifth of August, 1793, the town of Ta-coo, within the Pei-ho, or White river, and the first place of any note in this north-east frontier of China. There they found a considerable number of yachts, or large covered barges, and boats of burden, calculated to pass over the shallows of the Pei-ho, and destined to convey the whole of the Embassy as far as that river led towards the capital of the empire.

The Embassador entered immediately into the yacht prepared for his reception. It bore some resemblance to the passage-boats on the English and Dutch canals; but being intended for a longer and uninterrupted route, was made more spacious, and fitted up with greater conveniences, as well as better decorated. The apartment allotted for his Excellency took up most of the vessel, and consisted of an antichamber, a saloon, a bedchamber, and a closet. In the saloon was a seat of honour, or square sopha, such as is found in the houses of every chief mandarine, and on which, supported by large cushions, he gives audience to his suitors. A gangway, stretching out about two feet beyond the gunwale of the yacht, served for a communication on each side, from stem to stern, for the domestics and crew,

without passing through the rooms. On these gangways the seamen stepped, when it happened to be necessary to force, by setting poles, the vessel over the shallows, or through thick mud. The crew had a small cabin next the stern, in a corner of which perfumed matches were constantly kept lighted, and placed round an idol upon a small altar. Boats attended with provisions and cooks to supply the Embassador's table, without the necessity of going ashore, or suffering any delay whenever the tide or wind should be favourable for proceeding.

Sixteen other yachts, most of them of a larger size than that of the Embassador, as intended each to carry many passengers, were found sufficient for holding the whole of his Excellency's suite. Many of those vessels were eighty feet long, and very capacious; yet they were built of such light wood, and so constructed, as not to sink more than eighteen inches into the water, tho they were lofty above it. The cabins were high and airy. Above them were births for the crew, and beneath the floors were lockers for stowing necessaries.

The chief distinction, as to ornament, between the Embassador's and the other yachts, consisted in the greater proportion of glass panes

which adorned the windows of the former; while the frames of the others were generally filled with a kind of paper, manufactured chiefly in Corea, and in the composition of which an unctuous substance is employed, for rendering the paper more durable when thus exposed to the weather, it being much less easily affected by rain, or any kind of wet, than that which is made in Europe. The general use of glass in the yacht where decoration was principally studied, and the substitution of another material for it in most of the others, sufficiently indicated that it was in estimation, but not in plenty.

A considerable guard of Chinese soldiers were destined to attend the Embassador on shore; but a few only could be conveniently distributed among the yachts. Whenever an European went ashore from any of them, the presence of a soldier with him announced the immediate protection of the government; and might have been intended also, as a check upon his conduct.

Beside the yachts for passengers, an equal number of large boats of burden were found necessary for the conveyance of the presents and baggage. The Chinese were not deficient either in expedition, or management, in removing the several articles out of the holds of the sea-junks,

in order to tranship them into what might, perhaps, be properly called river-lighters.

No slight care was requisite in the transfer of the packages which contained the presents. This business was intrusted to the superintendance of the same person who had succeeded in transhipping them, without damage, from the Hindostan. Tho the people under his inspection could be employed at one junk only at a time, yet all the packages, in number about six hundred, most of which were heavy and unwieldly, were safely placed on board the lighters in the course of two or three days.

While this operation was going forward, the chief conductors of the route, Chow-ta-zhin and Van-ta-zhin, waited frequently upon the Embassador, not only to pay their respects to him, but to take his commands, in case any thing were wanting for his perfect accommodation and comfort. They likewise made visits of civility to the principal gentlemen of the Embassy. Inferior mandarines attended all the vessels, for the distribution of provisions, and necessaries for every individual of his Excellency's suite. These persons went from one yacht to another in small boats, called san-pans, which being decked and flat bottomed, could neither sink nor be overset.

A separate table for the gentlemen in each yacht was served up in the manner, and occasionally with all the delicacies, of the country; and sometimes, also, in an aukward imitation of English cookery. The Chinese method of dressing victuals, consisted chiefly in stewing animal substances, divided into small square morsels, mixed with vegetables, and in seasoning them with a variety of savoury sauces, with a combination of opposite tastes. The meat most plentifully served was beef and pork. The common fowls of Europe were also common here. Among the most expensive articles, and accounted the greatest delicacies, were the nests of a particular species of swallow, mentioned in the former volume of this work, and the fins of sharks, both of which afford rich and fattening juices; but require, like the turtle, the admixture of strong spices, to be much relished. With a view to gratify, as was thought, the English appetite, instructions were given by the mandarines, to roast large pieces, such as pigs, turkies, and geese, entire. This is a mode of preparing food which did not appear to have been practiced in China; and was executed very indifferently by the Chinese cooks.

Baking bread was as little common as roasting

meat. No proper oven was to be seen, in this part of the country. Instead of bread, boiled rice, or other grain, was generally used. The rice swells considerably in boiling; and this operation is supposed to answer, as to wholesomeness or facility of digestion, the purpose of the fermentation of the dough in regard to bread. Wheat grows in many provinces in China. That grain, also, called buck-wheat, produces flour, which, when freed entirely from the bran, is perfectly white, and is frequently, as well as other flour, made by the Chinese into the form of cakes. These, by exposure to steam, are reduced to the consistence of dumplins. For this purpose, the cakes are arranged upon stages of lattice work, fixed in the inside of a wooden frame, and closed on every part except the bottom. The frame, with its contents, is placed over a vessel of boiling water, the steam of which ascends through the lattice work. but is sufficient only to surround the cakes with a thin soft crust. Such as are afterwards sliced and toasted become better substitutes for hard baked bread. Some are rendered more palatable by the intermixture of aromatic seeds.

To each yacht were sent jars of a yellow vinous liquor, and also of a distilled spirit. The

management of the latter seemed to be understood better than that of the former; for the wine was generally muddy, indifferent in taste, and soon grew sour. The spirit was strong and clear, and seldom partook of any empyreumatic odour. In the northern provinces it was generally distilled from millet, as in the southern, from rice. The strength of some of it was, upon trial, ascertained to be above the common proof for ardent spirits. It is called by the Chinese hot wine, *show-choo*. Regular supplies also came of fruits, such as plums, pears, apples, grapes, apricots, and oranges. Peaches were presented as coming from Pekin, in the neighbourhood of which, probably, a greater attention is paid to the culture of that fruit than in the provinces. Green and bohea tea were supplied also in abundance; the former chiefly from the Kiang-nan, and the latter from the Fo-chen, provinces, both some degrees to the southward of the Pei-ho. The tea, however, was often too fresh for an English palate; and it was not unusual to hear a wish expressed for *London tea*. The province of Fo-chen furnished also sugar-candy and brown sugar; but none in loaf. The Cochin-chinese sugar crystallized in cakes, tho excellent and very cheap, seemed not to have

been imported, or much used in this part of China.

Ample allowance was made of every necessary article to the gentlemen, and likewise to the artificers, soldiers, and domestics in the train of the Embassador. No slight magnificence was displayed, and no expence seemed to be spared, in the treatment of the Embassy, either as to the number of mandarines who were appointed to accompany it, and whose salaries were increased upon this particular service; the crowd of inferior Chinese who were engaged to attend upon the occasion; the many vessels employed in conveying the whole; the parade of reception wherever the yachts stopped; and the occasional shows and decorations as they passed along; the cost of all which, together with that of the supplies of every kind which could be wanted, the Emperor chose, should be entirely borne by himself; upon this grand idea, that the whole empire was as his private property and dwelling, in which it would be a failure of hospitality to suffer a visitor, for as such an Embassador is always considered by the Chinese, to be at the least charge for himself or for his train, while he continued there. His Imperial Majesty's orders on this subject were very strictly obeyed.

A gentleman who accompanied the Embassador, and who wished to purchase some trifling articles of dress, was immediately supplied; but the mandarine who had been employed to buy them, declared he dared not accept the price from him for whose use they were destined, but charged the same to the Emperor's account. The Imperial mandates, on all occasions, seem to be received with a degree of awe, and to be executed with a punctuality which imply that they are seldom known to be infringed without a punishment adequate to the offence. The authority of government is delegated, on particular occasions, to superior mandarines; an instance of which occurred in the dismissal of a subordinate officer attending upon the Embassy, by the chief conductors of it, for no very violent transgression.

During the Embassador's stay before Ta-coo, there was also an interchange of visits between him and the Viceroy of the province, who, by the Emperor's order, came from Pao-ting-foo, his usual place of residence, distant an hundred miles, to compliment his Excellency on his entrance into the Chinese dominions, and to issue such orders, in regard to him, as the occasion might require. He was a person of the highest rank whom yet the Embassador had an opportunity

of seeing in China; and was certainly a man of the most polished manners. He was tottering with age: but not less dignified than he was venerable. In his reception of the Embassador, he behaved with refined and attentive politeness; but without the constraint of those distant forms, or particular ceremonies, which are sometimes thought proper to take place in China between persons of unequal rank, or to be substituted where sentiment or education is supposed to be deficient. The punctilios and tiresome formalities, for example, described in some relations of Chinese customs, when tea is served upon the arrival of a visitor, were not observed, or were slightly passed over on the present meeting; in which there was nothing particular in this respect to notice, unless it may be mentioned, that the tea was brought in cups with covers upon oblong saucers, and infused in each cup separately, the leaves remaining at the bottom of the cup; and that the simple infusion of this herb was thought by the host, if not by the guests, preferable to its mixture with cream and sugar.

The Viceroy had taken up his abode at the principal temple of Ta-coo, consecrated to the god of the sea, the proximity of which occasioned,

no doubt, frequent invocations to that deity, under the appellation of *Toong-hai-vaung*, or king of the eastern sea. There were several figures of him in different brilliant edifices of porcelain, within one inclosure. He is represented sitting upon the waves with firmness, ease, and dignity; and tho he brandishes no trident, *to call up spirits from the vasty deep*, yet he seems to be conscious of security by the possession of a magnet in one hand, while the dolphin, which he holds in the other, denotes his power over the inhabitants of the ocean. His beard flowing in all directions, and his agitated locks seemed intended for a personification of that troubled element. The circumstance of the divinity's reliance upon a magnet, is a sufficient indication how intimately the knowledge of its properties has been incorporated with the mythological doctrines of the Chinese; as well as at what an early period that knowledge must have been applied to navigation. They who suppose, indeed, from various allusions in ancient authors, as well as from a consideration of the facility with which pieces of iron placed in particular positions acquire magnetic qualities, that these were known in Europe also in very remote ages, conjecture that the tri-

dent itself in the hand of Neptune is less, a magic wand, than an emblem of that unerring guidance which the magnet is capable of supplying.

Not far from the *Hai-chin-miao*, or temple of the sea god, was the hall of audience of Ta-coo. It was situate in the midst of a spacious court. A broad flight of steps led to a building, of an hexagon form, with a roof supported by pillars, the diameter of which bore a greater proportion to the length of the shafts, than in any order of Grecian architecture. These pillars were of varnished wood, which material might require more thickness than those of stone; as pillars of iron, no doubt, would less than either. For the natural rules and proportions in this science, must necessarily depend on the substance to be employed, as well as on the effect they are meant to produce upon the eye. The hexagon was open on all sides: a circumstance which indicated the mildness of the climate, and was not ill calculated to impress the mind with the pleasing, tho perhaps erroneous idea, that justice there was free and accessible to all. On benches covered with red cotton cloth, and satin cushions, sat six magistrates, five, probably, as assessors to the chief, and who might serve the purpose of a check on the caprice or passions of a single

judge. The attendants and spectators were very numerous.

Soon after the Embassador returned to his yacht, the Viceroy sent there a sumptuous repast for him, and three other dinners, each consisting of twenty-four dishes, to the three gentlemen who had accompanied his Excellency on the visit. Why the Viceroy preferred this method of showing civility to his visitors, to that of retaining them to partake of a banquet with him that day, or of inviting them for the next, could be explained by nothing known in Chinese manners or opinions, except what might relate to the rank of the gentlemen accompanying the Embassador. It did not proceed, as it might in India, from any religious scruple, against eating with profane foreigners. More, indeed, than four persons seldom sit at the same table in China; but a banquet is frequently served upon several tables in the same apartment. It is possible that some circumstance of delicacy towards the Embassador, which was not explained, or of doubt concerning English customs, might have induced the Viceroy to adopt this particular mode of hospitality, which, indeed, the tables supplied at the Emperor's charge had rendered altogether superfluous.

During the Embassador's stay before Ta-coo he was visited by the principal mandarines of the neighbourhood, in whom, as in other Chinese of rank, fewer national peculiarities or partialities were apparent, than in the lower classes of life. The exercised mind is, certainly, less the child of example, or the creature of climate and government, than that in which nothing intervenes to counteract the influence of those powerful causes. That the people are justly said to be whatever they are made, is sufficiently instanced in the effect produced upon the common Chinese by the continual apprehension, in which they are held, of the heavy hand of power. When free from that restraint, they are of a cheerful and confident disposition; but they are extremely timid in the presence of their magistrates. This effect was conspicuous in the case of the young man who has been already mentioned to have come purposely in the Endeavour brig from Canton, to offer himself to serve as one of the interpreters of the Embassy. He was sometimes employed to interpret to the mandarines; but he stood in such excessive awe before them, that he seldom acquitted himself well; and never without turning the becoming style of conversation among equals, which he had to render from an

European language, into the most abject address that the Chinese idiom admitted from persons of the lowest degree. Not satisfied, however, with taking that sort of precaution for his security, he considered it still as dangerous for him to serve foreigners on any terms; and, sacrificing, to his new fears, the inclination he had to see, by means of the office he had undertaken, the capital, and the sovereign, of his country, as well as his desire of emolument in fulfilling the duties of his employment, he determined to return immediately to Canton in the vessel which had brought him from thence.

Every arrangement being completed for the Embassy's proceeding up the river, and his Excellency's orders having been taken upon the subject, the signal was made for sailing on the morning of the ninth of August. To the vessels already mentioned, were added such others as were to carry the mandarines of various ranks, and other Chinese appointed to attend the Embassy, in number, at least, equal to that of the Europeans who composed it. No guns are fired in China by way of signal; but circular rimmed plates of copper, condensed by much hammering, and mixed with tin, or zinc, to render it more sonorous, are struck with wooden mallets, and

emit a noise almost deafening to those who are near it, and which is heard to a considerable distance. This instrument, which the Chinese call *loo*, and the Europeans, in China, *gong*, from the name it bears in other parts of the East, is generally used upon the water. In like manner, two pieces of wood struck against each other, and producing a sound like that of a great rattle, serve ashore to give notice from authority, on most occasions, especially among the troops. Drums do not seem to be used in the army; but they form a part of religious music in the temples.

Almost every vessel connected with the Embassy had on board both Europeans and Chinese. From a mixture of people whose habits, wants, and languages, were so new to each other, much confusion might be expected to arise. It was avoided by caution and method. The mandarines were, on every occasion, attentive to the accommodation of the passengers. Even the Chinese soldiers and sailors displayed a gentleness of deportment, and a willingness to oblige, distinguishable from the mere execution of a duty; and which shewed that the present strangers, at least, were not unwelcome. These strangers were, indeed, announced as coming from afar to pay a compliment to their sove-

reign; and the lowest of the Chinese were not so depressed as to be insensible of some national gratification on that account.

The approach of the Embassy was an event of which the report spread rapidly among the neighbouring towns and villages. Several of these were visible from the barges upon the river. Crowds of men were assembled on the banks, some of whom waited a considerable time to see the procession pass, while the females, as shy as they were curious, looked through gates, or peeped over walls to enjoy the sight. A few, indeed, of the ancient dames almost dipped their little feet into the river, in order to get a nearer peep; but the younger part of the sex generally kept in the back ground. The strangers, on their part, were continually amused and gratified with a succession of new objects. The face of the country, the appearance of the people, presented, in almost every instance, something different from what offers to the view elsewhere. And a general sentiment prevailed among the strangers, that it was well worth while to have travelled to such a distance to behold a country which promised to be interesting in every respect.

The direct progress of the Embassy upon the Pei-ho was very slow: the course of that river

being remarkably serpentine. The route was therefore considerably lengthened; and the wind, which upon one stretch was favourable, became adverse upon the other. All rivers or streams of water, no doubt, affect straight lines from their sources to the sea, deflecting only where obstacles occur which their impulse is not able to surmount. If those obstacles consist of rocks or elevated compact grounds, no subsequent accidents are likely to change the bed once formed; but if the waters flow through a country nearly level, and between banks of so loose a mold as to be incapable of resisting a partial swell, or rapid motion, of the river; it will probably, on such occasions, form new and circuitous channels for itself. It had done so in the present instance; and to a degree of inconvenience, which appears to have induced the superintending government to take pains for confining it within its usual bounds; and, accordingly, extraordinary quantities of earth have been placed along its sides, in order immediately to fill up any breach which from time to time might be made in them. There are mounds of this kind, in the form of truncated wedges, all along the banks of the Pei-ho, which may also have, partly, been composed of mud collected from the river's bed. At present the

banks of the river are higher than the adjacent plains. Those plains extend as far as the eye could reach; and the windings of the river through them made the masts of the vessels, sailing on it, appear throughout the country, as if moving over the fields in every direction, while the water lay concealed.

The fields exhibited a high state of cultivation, and were generally covered with the *holcus sorghum* or tallest of the vegetables producing esculent grain, commonly called, in English, Barbadoes millet. It grows to ten or twelve feet high; and the lowest calculation of its increase was an hundred fold.

In the villages near the river during the first day's journey, the houses had the appearance of being built of mud, like those described near the mouth of the Pei-ho; but, on a closer inspection, the walls were found to be made of bricks ill-burnt, or baked in the sun; which afterwards, as well as the tiled roofs, were plastered over with a muddy-coloured substance, unmixed with lime. There is, indeed, no lime, unless from sea shells, to be had for a very considerable distance from the river, or stone of any kind. A pebble is here a rarity.

Near some of the towns and villages were

pyramids about fifteen feet high, but of different dimensions as to length and thickness. They consisted of bags of salt heaped together in that form, as peat is preserved in some parts of Europe. These bags were covered merely with common matting; which was, however, found sufficient shelter against the dissolution of their contents by rain. The showers which fell in this part of the country were indeed slight, and seldom happened. The fields nevertheless did not appear scorched in the month of August. Few clouds overhung the sky. No indication of a damp atmosphere was observed; but, in the evenings, a dew was perceptible upon the ground approaching to the river.

As soon as night came on, the banks were illuminated with variegated lights, from lanterns whose transparent sides were made of different coloured paper, some white, some stained with blue, and others red. The different numbers of lanterns hoisted on the masts' heads of the various vessels in the river, denoted the ranks of the passengers they held; all which, together with the lights from the cabins of the junks, reflecting from the water, produced a moving and party-coloured illumination: a species of magnificence much affected by the Chinese. The night was

nearly as noisy as the day, to which contributed not a little the shrill sounds emitted from the loo, struck upon every occasion of conveying signals. The threatening hum, and frequent sting of musquitoes, were likewise particularly troublesome in the night.

In the course of travelling the next day, a considerable inclosure was, for the first time, perceived, resembling a gentleman's park in England. It was the residence of the *Ta-whang*, or chief of the district. His dwelling was distinguished by treble gates, and by two poles erected near them, each forty feet high, destined to bear ensigns of dignity, and, in the night, to carry lanterns for use and ornament. Within the inclosures were seen several buildings, a variety of trees, several sheep and horses. Hitherto very few cattle of any kind had been, any where, observed. Tho the lands lay low, and fit to be converted into meadow, scarcely any were found in that state; or any lying fallow.

On one side of the river was a large grove of high and wide spreading pines; near and amongst which were discovered several monuments of stone, erected to the memory of persons buried underneath. No temple was in the neighbourhood of this cemetery. However a

view of the repositories of the dead may increase the disposition to seriousness and piety in buildings consecrated to public worship; considerations of health towards the living, may have been thought sufficient in China to keep those places entirely separate.

The opposite bank of the river, for a considerable way was crowded with pyramids or stacks of salt, of the height of those already mentioned. The quantity of that article necessary to fill such heaps appeared to be so enormous, that Mr. Barrow was induced to ascertain it by some sort of calculation. "The number of "entire stacks was two hundred and twenty-"two, besides several others that were incom-"plete. A transverse section of each stack was "found to contain seventy bags. None of those "stacks were less in length than two hundred "feet. Some entended to six hundred. Sup-"posing the mean or average length of those "stacks to be four hundred feet, of which each "bag occupied a space of two feet; there would "then be, in each stack, two hundred sections, "or fourteen thousand bags, and in the two hun-"dred and twenty-two stacks, upwards of three "million bags of salt. Every bag contained "about two hundred pounds weight; and,

" consequently, altogether six hundred millions " of pounds in weight of that article."

When in the former government of France, several of its provinces were subjected to the gabelle or duty upon salt, a calculation was carefully made of the average consumption of that article. It was then deemed to be considerably under twenty pounds weight in the course of the year, for each individual, including the several uses to which that substance was applied. But upon the supposition of the entire quantity of twenty pounds being annually consumed by every Chinese, the present collection of that commodity was sufficient for thirty millions of people for a year, without taking into the account the stacks then opened for consumption, and the lesser accumulations before observed along the banks of the river.

This article is a source of considerable revenue to the crown in China. The amount of the duties upon it in the province of Pe-che-lee, is stated to be inferior to what is collected in various other parts of the empire. In several districts of that province, particularly in the neighbourhood of the capital, instead of marine salt, a coarse or unpurified nitre is said to be so abundant, as to be often substituted for it by the

people, as in some of the interior parts of India, where it may deserve more the name of common salt than that which the sea produces.

† Most of the marine salt imported into the Pei-ho, is brought from the sea coasts of the two southern provinces of Fo-chen and Quan-tung, where it is prepared from sea water. Large fields being made perfectly smooth and flat, with margins elevated about six inches, sea water is let in upon a clayey surface, either through sluices, or pumped up at high water by chain-pumps. The water is suffered to lie on those fields to the depth of two or three inches. The heat of the sun in the summer season is sufficiently strong to evaporate the water. The evaporation, carried on slowly and uniformly, leaves behind large cubic crystals, and forms that species usually known by the name of Bay-salt in England. ‡ There are similar works near the mouth of the Pei-ho river, but to no considerable extent. Its more northern situation is certainly not so favourable for the process by solar heat. Artificial heat is found necessary to complete the process in England, and even in some of the southern parts of France. ‡ The salt brought from Quan-tung and Fo-chen into the

Pei-ho, is sufficient to load annually near two thousand vessels of two hundred tons burden each. When one article alone employs so many junks, it is easy to account for the multitude of them seen upon that river. And, indeed, neither the number of towns and villages within view of the Pei-ho, nor of the inhabitants flocking towards it, surprised the travellers so much as that of the junks which were every instant overtaken, or met, sailing upon the river, or passed at anchor in creeks along its banks.

The pyramids above described were within sight of the great port called *Tien-sing*, the literal signification of which Chinese name is, heavenly spot: an appellation which it claims as situate in a genial climate, a fertile soil, a dry air, and a serene sky. It is the general emporium for the northern provinces of China, and is built at the confluence of two rivers, from which it rises in a gentle slope. The palace of the governor stands on a projecting point, from whence it commands the prospect of a broad bason, or expanse of water, produced by the union of the rivers, and which is almost covered with vessels of different sizes. Many of them never cross the shallow bar at the mouth of the Pei-ho; but are employed

in the internal trade carried on by the means of canals as well as great rivers throughout the empire.

Of the rivers uniting at Tien-sing, one, on which the Embassy was to proceed, bore the same name of Pei-ho, that was continued to both when joined. The other was called *Yun-leang-ho*, or grain-bearing river, from the quantities of wheat conveyed upon it from the province of Shen-see, and sent up by the Pei-ho to the neighbourhood of Pekin. Even at this early stage of the present travellers' route through China, they found that the Chinese names of whatever had hitherto occurred to them in the country, were not mere arbitrary unmeaning sounds, or names derived from a foreign origin, but had a signification in the language which served to explain the nature or qualities of what was so expressed: a circumstance which leads to a presumption, that this country had, from the remotest periods, been possessed always by the same race, retaining through all ages the same original idiom, without any material admixture with the people or the language of other regions.

Across the rivers, where united at Tien-sing, was a bridge of boats for the convenience of

the people, but which occasionally separated to let vessels pass between them. Along the quays were some temples, and other handsome edifices, but the rest consisted chiefly of shops for the retail of goods, and also warehouses, together with yards and magazines for maritime stores. The private houses presented little more than dead walls in front, the light only coming to them from interior courts. The spectators were mostly in the streets, and upon the vessels, literally covering the water opposite the city. Few females were mixed with those spectators. The crowds, however, were immense, not only from the highest ground to the water's edge; but hundreds were actually standing in the water, in order to approach nearer to the spectacle of the vessels which conveyed the strangers. As these could not be incommoded by the crowd, nothing like soldiers or constables interfered with the movements of the people. Yet in all the ardour of curiosity, the people themselves preserved a great degree of decency and regularity in their demeanour. Not the least dispute seemed to take place among them; and, from a sense of mutual accommodation, none of the common Chinese, who usually wear straw hats, kept on theirs, while

the procession of the Embassy was passing, lest they should obstruct the view of the persons behind them, tho their bare heads were thus exposed to a scorching sun. The gradual rise on every side from the water to the furthest extremity of the city, rendered the whole one great amphitheatre. It was literally lined with heads, one behind and a little above the other. Every face was seen; and the number appeared to surpass any former multitude observed in the country.

The Chinese fleet which conveyed the Embassy stopped nearly in the centre of the city, and opposite to a pavilion where the Viceroy waited for the Embassador. The former had come over land from Ta-coo by a shorter route than was described by the windings of the river. The Embassador disembarked with all the gentlemen of his suite, and attended with his whole train of servants, musicians, and guards. He was received on shore by the Viceroy, and the Legate mentioned in a former page of this volume. A body of Chinese troops was drawn up behind them, according to the following order of parade in front, as particularly noticed by Captain Parish.

Three military mandarines, or principal officers.

A tent, with a band of music outside the tent.

Three long trumpets.

A triumphal arch.

Four large green standards, with five small ones between each pair of standards, and bowmen between each pair of small colours.

Six large red standards with matchlock men, and five small colours between each pair of standards.

Two large green standards, with swordsmen between each pair.

Music tent.

Triumphal arch.

The weather being very warm, several of the troops carried fans together with their military arms. Fans are worn in China equally by both sexes, and by all ranks; and this use of them at a military parade, will appear less surprising to those who have observed sometimes officers in other parts of the East exercising their battalions with umbrellas over their heads.

The Viceroy conducted the Embassador with the principal gentlemen into the pavilion, at the upper end of which was a darkened recess, or sanctuary, where the majesty of the Emperor was supposed to be constantly residing; and to that majesty it was signified that a respectful obeisance should be paid; which, however singular, was

accordingly performed by a profound inclination of the body. No such ceremony had taken place when the Viceroy alone received the Embassador at Ta-coo. His refined manners would not probably allow him to obtrude suddenly a proposal for the acknowledgment of this attribute of ubiquity upon a stranger who might not be accustomed to recognize such a quality in any mortal; but the presence of the Legate, of a disposition apparently opposite to his own, in all likelihood made it necessary even for the dignified and venerable Viceroy, not to omit, in the company of such an emissary from the court, any of the usual acts of unlimited respect to the exalted sovereign of the empire.

Tea, sweetmeats, and other refreshments being served, and some mutual civilities having passed, it was announced by the Legate to the Embassador, that the Emperor was at his country residence at Zhe-hol, in Tartary, where he intended to celebrate the anniversary of his birthday, being on the thirteenth of the eighth moon, answering to the seventeenth of September; and that he desired to receive the Embassy there. Beside the disposition of the Embassador to comply with any wishes of the Emperor, it was particularly grateful to him, that he was to pass into Tartary,

as on the frontier he should have an opportunity of seeing the great wall of China; of which the celebrated Doctor Johnson, in the enthusiasm of curiosity, is asserted to have said, that it might be a subject of some boast for the grandson of him who saw it.

The remainder of the Legate's conversation was less satisfactory. He said that the Embassy, after reaching Tong-shoo by water, within twelve miles of Pekin, should proceed by land directly for Zhe-hol, together with all the presents. Many of these were not likely to suffer by the carriage in such a journey: but it was obviously impossible to convey in safety, over the mountains and rugged roads of Tartary, some of the most valuable and curious, which consisted of delicate machinery, or were partly composed of brittle materials. The object of exhibiting all the presents at once before his Imperial Majesty, immediately upon their arrival at Zhe-hol, could not, at any rate, be attained, because some of the complicated machines had necessarily been taken to pieces, in order to be packed before they were embarked; and it would take some time to put them again together. It was desirable, beside, to fix them at once in the Emperor's chief place of residence, from whence, after being adjusted by the proper

artists, under the inspection of Doctor Dinwiddie and Mr. Barrow, they should not afterwards be removed. Such monuments of European ingenuity and knowledge merited to be preserved in their perfect state. But the Legate was averse to any measure tending to the least delay in the neighbourhood of the capital, which it seemed to have been his intention that no person belonging to the Embassy should visit. He had not been in the habit of forming any just notions, or any adequate estimation of the nice instruments of science: and nothing but the interposition of the Viceroy saved them from the destruction to which the determination of the Legate had devoted them. It was at length determined, that they should be left at a palace near Pekin, usually destined for the reception of such objects.

In the course of this discussion, the Legate betrayed a perverse temper under an exterior of much calmness. His irregular mind seemed tinctured with a jealousy of all foreigners, and, at the same time, with an utter contempt for them. But the urbanity and graciousness of the Viceroy compensated for the failure of the Legate: and the Embassador had only to lament, that the great age and different avocations of the former had not allowed of his being appointed to the office

connected with the Embassy, which had been conferred upon the latter.

Soon after the Embassador, and the gentlemen of his suite, had returned to their respective yachts, a magnificent repast, with wine, fruit, and sweetmeats, was sent to them on the part of the Viceroy, as at Ta-coo, together with presents of tea, silk, and muslins. Tho of no considerable value, those presents were accompanied with such obliging expressions and compliments, that they were received in the manner which was thought would be most satisfactory to the donor. He likewise sent a plentiful dinner and presents to the soldiers, musicians, artificers, and servants, of the Embassy.

Among other instances of his attention to the Embassador, a temporary theatre was erected opposite to his Excellency's yacht. The outside was adorned with a variety of brilliant and lively colours, by the proper distribution of which, and sometimes by their contrast, it is the particular object of an art among the Chinese to produce a gay and pleasing effect. The inside of the theatre was managed, in regard to decorations, with equal success; and the company of actors successively exhibited, during the whole day, several different pantomimes and historical

dramas. The performers were habited in the ancient dresses of the Chinese at the period when the personages represented were supposed to have lived. The dialogue was spoken in a kind of recitative, accompanied by a variety of musical instruments; and each pause was filled up by a loud crash, in which the loo bore no inconsiderable part. The band of music was placed in full view, immediately behind the stage, which was broad, but by no means deep. Each character announced, on his first entrance, what part he was about to perform, and where the scene of action lay. Unity of place was apparently preserved, for there was no change of scene during the representation of one piece. Female characters were performed by boys or eunuchs.

One of the dramas, particularly, attracted the attention of those who recollected scenes, somewhat similar, upon the English stage. The piece represented an emperor of China and his empress living in supreme felicity, when, on a sudden, his subjects revolt, a civil war ensues, battles are fought, and at last the arch-rebel, who was a general of cavalry, overcomes his sovereign, kills him with his own hand, and routes the imperial army. The captive empress then appears upon the stage in all the agonies of

despair naturally resulting from the loss of her husband, and of her dignity, as well as the apprehension for that of her honour. Whilst she is tearing her hair and rending the skies with her complaints, the conqueror enters, approaches her with respect, addresses her in a gentle tone, soothes her sorrows with his compassion, talks of love and adoration, and like Richard the Third, with lady Anne, in Skakspeare, prevails, in less than half an hour, on the Chinese princess to dry up her tears, to forget her deceased consort, and yield to a consoling wooer. The piece concludes with the nuptials, and a grand procession.

At Tien-sing the Embassador received accounts from the squadron at the river's mouth. It was preparing for a speedy departure: Sir Erasmus Gower, having received the order for supply he had requested, which was directed to the mandarines, wherever he might have occasion to stop for the recovery of his men. It seems, indeed, that twelve months provisions were offered him from Ta-coo, as if already to prepare him for his return home, it being known that he had been ten months in his voyage out.

Among the passengers returning, in the Endeavour, to Canton, beside the interpreter who would not venture to proceed to Pekin, were two

missionaries, who could not, for want of a licence, be taken to that capital. These men, who from a very early period of their lives had devoted themselves to the propagation of Christianity in foreign parts, were sent several years since, by the superiors of the missions, then resident at Paris, to Macao, in order, from thence, to join their brethren at Pekin. They arrived in the midst of a persecution of Christians in several provinces of the empire. It owed its origin to some real or pretended practices of the European preachers, or their Chinese converts, of a tendency to produce disturbance. The jealousy of the priests of the religions already established in China, working on the prejudices or passions of the mandarines, often led to the revival of edicts against the introduction of new sects, and novel doctrines, as likely to affect the tranquillity of the state. Those persecutions increased the difficulty and danger for the new missionaries to traverse the country unperceived. They were, in the mean time, occupied, by order of the superior clergy of Macao, in giving instruction to young Portuguese intended for the priesthood. They had not, however, lost sight of their original destination, and eagerly sought for opportunities to pursue it.

They had, before they left Europe, qualified themselves, by some application to mathematical and astronomical studies, to be of use at the observatory at Pekin. One of them had been, for some time, a pupil of the celebrated astronomer Lalande. Their talents and acquirements, when known to the Emperor, might render them acceptable; and might at length procure them seats in the tribunal of mathematics, in the imperial palace. It is the only department of the state to which Europeans are allowed to be competent. They who belong to it at present are Portuguese; and it is the supposed policy of several of that nation in China, to exclude all other foreigners from a concurrence with them in that respect. This policy, however, is perfectly colonial, or local, neither suggested nor encouraged by the cabinet of Lisbon, nor even, perhaps, known there. But on the supposition of its existing at Macao or Pekin, it is likely, as those two missionaries were not Portuguese, that the qualifications which rendered them useful at Macao, and those others from whence they might derive promotion at Pekin, may have equally operated to produce the obstacles raised at the former place against their departure from it. They had, however, after some struggle and great patience, overcome

those obstacles, and were arrived in the Pei-ho river in their way to Pekin. But not forming a part of the Embassador's suite, and the expected permission from court not having arrived before the departure of the vessel for Canton, they were under the necessity of embarking for that place. It may not, however, be ungrateful to the reader to be made acquainted that the perseverance of those pious men was at last rewarded in the way they wished; and that they obtained permission from the Emperor to repair to the capital, where they were taken into his service.

The throng of visits to the Embassador was considerable at Tien-sing, from the several civil and military officers of the place. In seeking out for the nearest resemblance between these persons and Europeans, the character of gentlemen of rank in France, while monarchy subsisted there, occurred readily to the mind: an engaging urbanity of manners, instantaneous familiarity, ready communicativeness, together with a sense of self-approbation, and the vanity of national superiority, piercing through every disguise, seemed to constitute their character.

After the ceremonies of the day were over, and his Excellency was alone, he was informed that a Chinese, who had long been hovering

about the yacht, desired to be admitted to his presence. A youth was introduced, clean and composed in his dress, of a modest countenance, and humble in his deportment. He proved to be a young neophyte, a sincere convert to the doctrines of Christ, and a fervent disciple of the missionary who had regenerated him from the paganism of his ancestors. He was devoted to the commands of his ghostly father, and performed now a service of no little danger, in bringing letters to the Embassador, without permission either from the magistrates of the place from whence he came, or those where he now arrived. For not only such communication with a stranger is not allowed; but even among the natives it is much restrained. There is no establishment of a post for the general convenience of the people throughout the Chinese empire. Expresses are continually sent on horseback, to convey intelligence to the Emperor alone, from every point of his wide dominions, with a celerity scarcely exceeded even by the latest improvements of that kind in Europe. Dispatches are, in one day, carried one hundred and fifty miles. Slower messengers are employed for the ordinary purposes of government, and the use of the mandarines. These are charged sometimes, through particular fa-

vour, with the packets of individuals. But the cautious attention of the Chinese government preserves carefully the exclusive advantage of giving information to, or withholding it, as it may deem expedient, from, the body of the people.

The letters brought secretly to the Embassador were from one of the principal missionaries of Pekin, whose attention appeared not to be confined to spiritual affairs. In the first of these letters, dated at Pekin, the seventh of May, 1793, the writer informs his Excellency, that "the "account of the intended Embassy had reached "the Emperor on the third of the preceding "December; that he shewed marks of great "satisfaction at the intelligence, and gave im- "mediate orders that the port of Tien-sing "should be open for the reception of the vessels "employed upon the occasion; that he (the "letter writer) was happy at the report he had "that day heard (which, however, was prema- "ture) of his Excellency's approach to Tien- "sing; and begged to assure him of his personal "respects, and of his determination to execute "the promise he had given to Messieurs Cox "and Mierop at Canton, that he would embrace "with zeal every opportunity that should offer

" of rendering service to the English Company " and nation: that upon the first account of an " English Embassy he had taken pains to pre- " pare men's minds, as much as in him lay, " and not, he hoped, unprofitably for its favour- " able reception; and that he should be ready, " during his Excellency's stay, to render him all " the service in his power."

In the second letter from the same person, dated the sixth of August, a few days only before the reception of it, he acquainted the Embassador that " the Chinese government had " appointed a Portuguese missionary (whom he " named) to hold himself in readiness to go to " Zhe-hol; in order to perform the office there " of interpreter to the Embassy, and to guide the " Embassador in all matters of ceremony and " state; that he (the letter writer) thought it " right to put his Excellency upon his guard " against the evil disposition and adverse designs " towards the English nation, of the person so " appointed; and whose conversations had al- " ready betrayed how inimical he was to the suc- " cess of the present Embassy: that if the court " had been at Pekin, he (the letter writer) should " hope to prevail in counteracting the injurious " impressions, which the rash and ill-founded

" discourses of the intended interpreter were " calculated to produce; as well as the multi- " plied calumnies contained, and the strange " and malignant suspicions of the latent projects " of the Embassy suggested, in a variety of letters " from Canton and Macao; but that he was " very apprehensive mischief might be done at " Zhe-hol, where the Emperor resided; but " where he (the letter writer) could not proceed, " unless called there by the government; that he " was truly anxious to testify his gratitude, in " common with most of his colleagues, to the " English nation, for the protection afforded, in " their settlements in India, to the missionaries " employed for the propagation of Christianity " there: that his first letter had, on the different " reports of his Excellency's arrival, been al- " ready three times at Tien-sing." And he concludes by requesting that " his letters should " be kept secret, lest the knowledge of their con- " tents might draw upon him the resentment of " the Portuguese."

Tho the above letters might have been dictated by a spirit of opposition, ambition, or intrigue, the assertion of extraordinary jealousy on the occasion of the Embassy, was only a confirmation of what had been communicated, upon the

same subject, by disinterested persons at Macao. No answer, however, was hazarded to this unexpected addresser; nor was the time yet come to take any measures upon the subject. There was perhaps greater cause of apprehension from the untoward disposition of the Legate, and the prejudiced reports he might make to the minister, than from the influence of any European.

The weather in the evening was favourable for departure; and the several yachts and other vessels belonging to, or connected with, the Embassy, sailed a little way beyond Tien-sing. That city appeared, as the vessels passed thro it, to be of considerable length. Some of the observers supposed it to extend as far as from Millbank to Lime-house, or about the length of London. The mandarines of the place asserted that its population was equal to seven hundred thousand souls. The immense number of spectators it supplied rendered such a computation likely, even allowing for the accession of persons from the neighbourhood, whom the novel sight might have attracted; but adding, at the same time, the due proportion of females and of children, that had mixed but little in the crowd. The junks, which were numerous enough almost to cover the waters which divide this commercial

city, contained several thousand people. It is not alone to the persons sufficient to navigate those vessels that they afforded habitations. The wives and families of the officers and sailors reside with them constantly on board. There many of them are born; and all of them spend their lives. Every shore to them was foreign; and the earth an element on which they ventured but occasionally.

Such of the houses of Tien-sing as, by having shops for the retail of merchandize, or working places for manufacturers, were open to the street, seemed as full of people as the habitations upon the water. Of the numbers contained in the other buildings some judgment may be formed, not only by those of the spectators seen abroad, but from the constant and, probably, patriarchal usage, to which this people still adhere, of having all the branches or existing generations of the same family, under a single roof, and in small apartments. In consequence of such usage, retained by the Chinese emigrants at Batavia, it appeared upon a regular census taken of the inhabitants of that settlement, that ten men fit to bear arms were found in every Chinese house.

The houses of Tien sing were chiefly built of brick, of a leaden blue colour. Few were red.

Such as were used in the smallest and poorest dwellings, were of a pale brown. These different tints are supposed to have arisen not from any difference in the nature of the earth of which they severally consisted, but in the method of converting that earth into bricks. Those last mentioned had been exposed to no other heat than that of the sun, in which they were only baked or indurated imperfectly. The blue bricks were exposed to the action of a close wood fire, in kilns erected for that purpose, and where little actual flame was suffered to attain the surface of the bricks. Such as received the action of the flame were inclined to red. When the clay is first moulded into the form intended for bricks, it is the custom in the East to lay them at once in rows one above another. They are, when thus laid, in a soft and humid state, and from the nature of argillaceous earth, particularly adhesive. It becomes, therefore, in that state, necessary to keep them separated by some substance of a nature that will not itself adhere to either surface; without which the different rows of bricks would, as they dried, form together one solid mass, incapable of being applied to the use for which they were destined. This purpose is answered by placing between these rows

thin layers of straw; and this precaution is deemed so essential, that it has given rise to the Oriental proverb, on this subject, which has passed into the languages of the West.

Many of the houses at Tien-sing are two stories high. This is contrary to the general mode which the Chinese affect in building. They mostly prefer houses of a single story, in conformity to the original form of all dwellings: and there are many Chinese who still feel awkwardly in ascending stairs, or looking down from heights. But the advantage of being near the quays and water side of a commercial town, has given rise to what is considered in that country as a duplication of building on the same site.

The confluence of two navigable rivers, one flowing from the neighbourhood of the capital, and the other communicating with some of the distant provinces, must have rendered this *heavenly spot* a place of some resort, from the earliest period of the union of the Chinese into one empire. The annals of the country, confirmed by tradition, mention that a northern branch of the great Yellow river once fell into the gulf of Pekin; and continued in that course, until the violence of torrents raised a mound which, in-

creased by prodigious efforts of human labour, threw the whole of the river into the eastern branch, which now conveys the total mass of waters of that vast flood through the province of Kiang-nan into the Yellow sea. The ancient maps of China show the original division of the Yellow river into two branches; but those maps are so confused and incorrect, that it is not perfectly clear whether the northern branch was added to the rivers at Tien-sing, or whether it joined the gulf alone; but if the former were the case, the expanse of waters round which that city was erected, must have been still more considerable than it now appears; and it is accordingly represented in ancient maps much larger than it is at present, particularly in that of Marco Polo, in which Tien-sing is called "Citta celeste." It was already, at that time (in the thirteenth century) in the rank of a city; but it long bore, as its former termination of Tien-sing-wee in the Chinese tongue implies, the character only of a town, of little note and confined jurisdiction. Wherever a town was built in remote antiquity, and is still inhabited, the original houses must have often, in the course of ages, yielded to new erections raised, in some measure, upon the former ruins. The foundations of buildings in

existence now, are, therefore, more elevated than those which stood prior to such gradual accumulation. The present city appears, consequently, to be built on a rising ground, tho on every side the country falls into a perfect flat, and, like the sea, presents one simultaneous plane terminated only by the horizon.

The lands, as the Embassy proceeded, continued to appear cultivated with the utmost care. Most of the fields were covered, as on the other side of Tien-sing, with the *holcus sorghum*, or Barbadoes millet, distinguished by the Chinese under the name of *kow-leang*, or lofty corn. It is cheaper than rice in all the northern provinces, where probably it was the grain first cultivated, as it appears in ancient Chinese books, that measures of capacity were originally ascertained by the numbers of this grain which they contained. Thus one hundred grains would fill a *choo*; and this measure was multiplied and divided in decimal proportions. Distances, or measures of length, and also weights, were likewise calculated from standards taken from the same grain. The straw or stalks of this corn are too stiff and firm for the uses to which such a material is generally applied elsewhere. But coarse mats are sometimes made of them, and laths to receive

plaster for walls and ceilings. The lower parts of the stalk, together with the root, serve for fuel, except where wanted for banking up the loose sides of canals and rivers. The sides of the Pei-ho are supported also by parapets of cut granite, to resist the floods, at particular reaches of the river; and at others the banks are bordered by causeways of the same material for a considerable length, together with sluices at proper distances, to let off the water, which is distributed in due proportion, for the irrigation of the adjacent grounds. In some parts accumulations of sand and mud form islets in the river, thus dividing it into two narrower and shallower branches.

The Barbadoes millet was frequently planted in alternate rows, having between them rows of a smaller grain and humbler stems, either the *panicum italicum*, or *panicum crus galli*, to be sheltered for a time by its taller neighbour, until the latter shall be reaped: when the former, then fully exposed to the sun's rays, ripens in its turn, and is fitted for the sickle. Sometimes in small spots accidentally vacant near the edges of the bank, or along ridges of corn, was planted a species of *dolichos*, not unlike the kidney bean. Sometimes were seen whole fields of beans, and

also several of *sesamum*, and other plants, of which the seeds yield oil much used for culinary purposes. No weeds were any where observed to diminish useful produce, or to share with it the fruitfulness of the earth. Every field had the neatness and regularity of a garden. The corn and pulse then growing had succeeded to a former crop in the same year. Wheat in dry, and rice in moist, situations, were said to be cultivated to advantage.

Few trees or cattle adorn these plains. The eye, however, was delighted with the unbounded prospect of habitations, and the prosperous effect of careful culture. Famines sometimes happen, notwithstanding, in this part of the province. In some seasons inundations, produced by torrents from the mountains, and as often the depredations of locusts, are causes of this disaster. On these occasions, robberies are frequent; and, tho checked, are not easily repressed, by all the rigour and exertions of the government. But as they are, in fact committed from necessity and the goadings of hunger, so they usually cease at the return of plenty.

The tide, of which the flood had aided the progress of the yachts conveying the Embassy, ceased about thirty miles beyond Tien-sing. Where

there happened to be little or no stream or wind, it was not uncommon for the sailors to make use of two large sculls or oars, sometimes placed towards the fore part of the vessel, like the two pectoral fins of a fish, and sometimes near the stern; and in other vessels one only at the stern, and one at the bow. Each oar has a small socket that receives an iron pivot, fixed on a piece of wood projected for that purpose from the gunwale. Several men are employed to move each of these large oars, which are never taken out of the water; but are made to perform beneath its surface, a kind of vibratory motion, displacing the water first with one edge, and afterwards with the other. This labour the men seem to undergo with pleasure, keeping time with their strokes to a spirited air sung by the master, and accompanied in the chorus by all the men. The same air is sung on board every vessel in the river. On a still moonlight night, this cheerful air, re echoed from a hundred different vessels gliding in various directions through the water, conveyed a pleasing idea of the contented disposition of this laborious class, living entirely on the water, and forming no inconsiderable portion of the general population.

When the method just described for forward-

ing the progress of the yachts was impracticable or insufficient, and the breeze was unfavourable, or too weak to stem the current tending to the sea, other means were used, such as had been practiced near the mouth of the river, to track or drag the yachts against the stream. For this purpose, in most other countries, horses or mules are generally employed. In China it is not merely that the labour of men is cheaper; but it does not seem to occur to spare it, wherever the purpose can be answered by its exertions. In the present instance, the tracking rope is fixed to the upper extremity of the principal mast; and is joined to another that proceeds from the vessel's prow. The rope, to which the power is applied, is of considerable length. To this main rope are fastened cords formed into loops, one of which each tracker throwing over his head, places opposite to his breast; and frequently substituting to the cord a piece of board, to prevent the immediate pressure of the former around his breast, which might impede the playing of the lungs. Thus the trackers yoked, move in a line together to the sound of a popular song, which, by regulating their steps, and uniting their efforts, renders the latter more effectual;

and diverting their minds from the hardships of their situation, contributes to reconcile them to their labour, and even animates their exertions. There were, upon an average, about fifteen men employed to track each yacht. The whole number was, at least, five hundred for this service only, in actual exercise, beside an equal number to relieve the others alternately. They were well made, muscular men; but remarkably round shouldered. In the summer they go almost naked upwards from the waist; and those parts of their skin are copper-coloured; but they are naturally fair, as appears from their lower extremities, which they uncover when they have occasion to plunge into the water.

The low and sometimes marshy country, through which the river passes, is favourable to the production of insects; and many of them were very troublesome, some principally by their sting; and others by their constant stunning noise. The music emitted by a species of cicada, was not of the vocal kind; but produced by the motion of two flaps or lamellæ which cover the abdomen or belly of the insect. It is the signal of invitation from the male of that species to allure the female, which latter is quite unprovided with

these organs of courtship. This favourable soil gave birth likewise to a species of moth, of a size not very much inferior to that of a humming bird.

A variety of objects upon the shore, attracted the notice of the travellers, and often impelled them to quit the yachts, the progress of which was frequently so slow as to allow of occasional excursions upon land. But they began to observe that they were watched with a degree of jealousy and suspicion, beyond what they had heard or read of the cautious police of China. This change was found to be the consequence of orders from the Legate. It was difficult to attribute unnecessary measures of restraint to ill-humour alone; and no other cause could be conjectured. At length the interpreter discovered, from scattered hints in the familiarity of discourse with the mandarines, that dissatisfaction had lately been conceived at court against the English nation. The only explanation, which after much difficulty, and with no slight caution, could be obtained on this occasion, was the following. In a war which the Emperor of China had waged in the country of Thibet, his army met with more resistance, and suffered greater losses, than were foreseen from such an enemy as was expected to be encountered.

Some of the Chinese officers immediately fancied that they perceived European troops, and the effect of European discipline, in opposition to them. They discovered *hats*, they said, as well as turbans, among their enemies. The former, it was concluded, could be only English. The report spread politically forward among the people of China was, that, on the contrary, the English had given assistance. Though the Embassador took for granted, that neither fact was true, yet he was conscious that the belief of the first assertion would be sufficient to alienate the administration of China from any favourable disposition towards, or confidence in, the government of Great Britain.

In such a temper, tho the Emperor personally was flattered with the Embassy, and peremptory in his orders for its reception, yet the ministers, coupling this mission from the English with their supposed hostility, and their real strength, on the side of India, might be disposed to suspect some sinister intention latent under the present proffer of gifts and friendship. Similar suspicions led, it is known, not long since, the Ottoman court to prohibit the passage of the English travellers through Egypt, on the ground, as was set forth in the body of the proclamation, that it

was the practice of their military men to go disguised as merchants, and take plans of foreign places, and make observations on their state of defence, in order to return afterwards in force, to attack them with a greater certainty of success. It was no uncommon policy in the East, to precede an attack upon a foreign nation, by the semblance of an amicable embassy to it, for the real purpose of examining its situation. The British administration was perfectly aware of the prejudices that might be attempted to be excited against the English, as to ambitious views, from the circumstance of their acquisitions in Bengal; and the most judicious method had been pointed out to the Embassador to follow, in order to allay any suspicions arising from a dominion so accidental, and so little sought for; but it was impossible to foresee, or prepare against, the imputation of an actual interference with the Chinese arms, which had never taken place; and it was only after the Embassador's arrival in Canton, in the following year, that he learned, by dispatches from England and Calcutta, what were the circumstances that led to so groundless an assertion.

In those dispatches it was mentioned that hos-

tilities had, for some time, subsisted between the governing power residing at Lassa, situate to the north-north-east, and that at Napaul to the north-west, of Calcutta; both lying northerly from the Soubah, or viceroyalty of Bengal. Napaul borders immediately upon the British territories or dependencies, which extend to the northern limits of the plains of Hindostan. From these plains the earth rises to a perpendicular height of seven thousand feet in the short distance of fifteen miles; and "from the summit," as is expressed by the elegant and instructive pen of Major Rennell, "the astonished traveller looks "back upon the plains, as on an extensive ocean "beneath him." Beyond Napaul to the west, and Bootan to the east, is situate the country of Great Thibet, where the British arms penetrated, through fortified passes, upwards of twenty years ago, and forced the government there to sue for peace. The Teshoo Lama, or spiritual chief and sovereign of Thibet, sent, on that occasion, an Embassador to the Governor General at Calcutta; and an Embassy went, in return, from the latter place to Lassa. From that period there has been no difference of any kind between the respective governments; on the contrary, an amicable in-

tercourse took place between them. Commercial exchanges were begun from the one country to the other; and more were in contemplation.

At that period the Emperor of China, tho a disciple of the religion of the Lama, and considered as his temporal protector, did not appear to interfere in the affairs of Thibet. But soon afterwards he invited the Lama, to whose doctrines he was zealously attached, to visit him at his court, in order to confer with him on religious subjects. The accounts from Pekin of the Lama's reception, are full of the extraordinary honours paid to him as the head of the Emperor's faith, and visible type of the deity he adored; and also of the regret which his Majesty felt on the Lama's death, occasioned by the small-pox, soon after his arrival. The suddenness of this calamity excited, however, strong suspicions in Thibet. It was there imagined, that the Teshoo Lama's correspondence and connection with the English government of Bengal, had given umbrage to his Imperial Majesty, who yielding, it was concluded, to the suggestions of a policy practiced sometimes in the East, drew the Lama to his court with intentions different from those which he had expressed in his invitation. Certain it is, that Sumhur Lama, brother of the

deceased, was so much alarmed, that he fled from Lassa, taking with him a considerable quantity of treasure; which, probably, contributed to procure him the protection of the Rajah of Napaul. In order to ingratiate himself with this Rajah, he described to him the gold and silver mines in the neighbourhood of Lassa; and informed him likewise of the vast riches remaining in the Poo-ta-la, or great temple, situate near that capital. Allured by the temptation of booty, the Rajah sent troops towards Lassa, which, after a march of about twenty days, met the Thibet army assembled to resist them. Many battles were fought between them. Victory remained on the side of the assailants; and a peace was made on the condition of an annual tribute of three lacks of rupees from the Lassa country to the Rajah of Napaul.

In the vicissitudes of power so frequent in many parts of the East, Lassa had been already once dependent upon Napaul; and the effigy of its Rajah was stamped, as paramount sovereign, upon the coin of Lassa. For the continuance or revival of this practice, the present Rajah of Napaul stipulated likewise in the new treaty, which appears to have been concluded through the intervention of a chief, belonging to the Emperor of China, habitually resident at Lassa. This treaty

probably was meant, by the vanquished to continue only till they could obtain succours from elsewhere. Application was made for this purpose to the Governor General of Bengal, who declined to interfere.

The Rajah of Napaul, encouraged by his success at Lassa, sent troops afterwards to Diggurah, another district of Thibet, and plundered the treasury belonging to the Lama of that place, who was also one of the high priests of the Emperor's religion. These repeated aggressions on the part of the Napaul Rajah against the spiritual fathers of the faith of his Imperial Majesty, and against countries which were under his protection, at length determined him to avenge those injuries, notwithstanding the great length and difficulty of the road through which his troops would have to march, before they should arrive at the enemy's country. Seventy thousand men reached the borders of Thibet in 1791. From thence to Napaul the distance exceeds five hundred miles; and the country is difficult and rugged. "Some of the mountains of Thibet, which "are visible from the plains of Bengal, at the "distance of one hundred and fifty miles, are," Major Rennell says, "commonly covered with "snow." He supposes them to be "in point of

" elevation, equal to any of those of the old he-
" misphere;" and adds, that " the country of
" Thibet, is altogether one of the highest in
" Asia: it being a part of that elevated tract
" which gives rise, not only to the rivers of In-
" dia and China, but to those also of Siberia and
" Tartary." The climate is remarkably severe, tho situate in the southern part of the temperate zone, under the fortieth degree of north latitude. Beside the difficulties which such a country naturally presented to the passage of an army, the hills which were to be traversed on the Napaul side, were said to be fortified by art. The Rajah's own army was considerable, and flushed with former successes. He was not, perhaps, without hope of military assistance from Bengal. He claimed it as a neighbour and an ally. He had, by many friendly advances, long sought to form an intimate connection with the British government; and which was then recently effected in the form of a commercial treaty. It was not unusual for the princes in alliance with, or dependent upon, Bengal, to obtain from thence the use of troops for particular services; and about this time a small detachment was sent to the Rajah of Deringha, to enable him to recover possession of his country, lying to the eastward

of Bengal, not far from the western boundaries of China; and another detachment was sent to quell some disturbances in Assam, occasioned principally by bands of vagabonds from Bengal. The Rajah of Napaul encouraged his troops with the expectation of similar assistance; and spread the report of having received it, in order to intimidate his enemies.

On the other hand, the general of the Chinese forces wrote, in a lofty style, to the Governor General of Bengal, desiring, in the name of his master, "*the flower of the imperial race, the sun of* "*the firmament of honour, the resplendent gem in* "*the crown and throne of the Chinese territories,* "that British troops should be sent to seize and "chastize the Rajah as he deserved." Among the extravagant ideas which the unlimited authority of the sovereigns of China over all things immediately around them, had led them to entertain, was that of universal monarchy; and a renunciation of so absurd a claim, is mentioned as an instance of the moderation and good sense of the present Emperor. It is, however, possible that some such notion, still prevalent in the mind of this commander of his troops, may have induced the latter to expect an immediate compliance with his desire on the part of a British go-

vernor. The letter conveying this desire was written in the language of the Emperor his master, and could not then be translated at Calcutta; but the substance of it was communicated in another from Dhalary Lama, at that time reigning in Thibet.

It is necessary in this place to observe, that in Hindostan the heat and cold do not vary throughout the year in so sensible a manner, as to occasion the principal division of the seasons to be made, into summer and winter, as in Europe. In the first six months of the year, the weather is remarkably dry; while in the remainder the rain falls in torrents unknown in most other regions; and which swell suddenly the rivers, inundate plains, destroy roads, and almost change the appearance of the country. The year is, therefore, justly distinguished there into the dry and rainy seasons.

The season of the rains, which intervened soon after the receipt of the above-mentioned letters at Calcutta, rendered the journey difficult and tedious between that settlement and Lassa. The messenger who had brought the dispatches from thence, was detained also in his return, a long time upon the road, by illness. The Chinese general receiving no answer at the expected

period, was the more easily disposed to credit the reports spread in the country, that British troops had, contrary to his expectation, been sent to the assistance of the Rajah; especially as he found the struggle was maintained by the latter with uncommon obstinacy. Nor is it absolutely impossible that a few fugitive sepoys from the forces maintained in the northern districts of Bengal, acquainted with the discipline, and even dressed in the uniform of the English East India Company's troops, may have found their way to the Napaul army, where, no doubt, they would be joyfully received. The badness of the season, and the ruggedness of the country, increased the danger to the attacking army, and rendered their success uncertain. The idea of having a double enemy to encounter would add to the renown of victory, or mitigate the disgrace of a defeat. Accounts were accordingly said to be transmitted to Pekin, that English troops had joined the Rajah. The intimate connections of the Chinese commander with the court, the remoteness of the country where he was sent, the laws of the empire prohibiting all persons belonging to the army from corresponding, except with the consent of the commander in chief, on military matters, the general ignorance of the people of China as to all

political transactions, their prudent silence on such subjects, had already enabled that commander, it was whispered, to practice similar impositions, while at the head of an army sent against the Tung-quinese. On that occasion, notwithstanding his misconduct and discomfiture, he contrived to satisfy the Emperor, and to receive the reward of merit and success. His conduct was likewise blameable as Viceroy of Canton, where he committed acts of oppression towards foreigners, and hated them, perhaps, for the injuries he made them suffer.

So far, however, was the present accusation against the English from having the least foundation, that the noble person who then presided in Bengal, with so much honour to himself, and advantage to his country, conducted himself in this business, not only with the most strict neutrality, but with peculiar propriety and attention towards the Emperor of China. It was determined by him "to send a friendly deputation to the "Napaul Rajah, with instructions to assure him, "that it was the earnest wish of the members of "the Bengal government to extricate him from a "ruinous war; but at the same time to state to him, "that as the amicable correspondence which they "had held with the Lamas, and the commercial

"connection which had long subsisted between "their country (of England) and that of the Em- "peror of China, did absolutely preclude them "from committing hostilities against either of "these powers, without any provocation on their "part, it was only by means of conciliatory "negotiation that they could endeavour to assist "him; and that, in order to effect this desirable "purpose, it would be necessary to open an im- "mediate intercourse with the commander of the "Chinese and Thibet forces." A collateral advantage was expected to be derived from sending such a deputation to Napaul; for, "owing to the "jealousy which the chiefs of that country had "hitherto shewn of the English, the latter knew "little more of the interior parts of Napaul, "than of the interior parts of China; and it was "therefore thought that no pains or attention "should be spared to take advantage of so favour- "able an opportunity to acquire every informa- "tion that might be possible, both of the popu- "lation and of the manners and customs of the "inhabitants, as well as of the trade, manufac- "tures, and natural productions of a country, "with which it must ever be desirable to main- "tain the most friendly communication."

The Governor General wrote immediately to

Dhalary Lama, that, " as the English Company " had nothing more at heart than to maintain the " most cordial and friendly terms with all the " powers in India; and, sensible of the wisdom " of that conduct, they were careful not to in- " fringe the rules of friendship by interference, " in a hostile manner, in the disputes prevail- " ing among foreign powers, except when self- " defence or wanton attacks obliged them. That " the English governor had sent an answer, con- " formable to those sentiments, upon the Rajah " of Napaul's application for military assistance. " It could not be unknown to him (Dhalary " Lama) that a friendship had long subsisted be- " tween the English and the Rajah of Napaul, " and also between the Emperor of China, whose " protection extended over the Lama, and the " Company. The English had for many years " carried on commercial concerns with the sub- " jects of the Emperor, and had actually a fac- " tory established in his dominions. On account " of the connection with the Emperor, and " knowing the Lama to be held in high ve- " neration by his Imperial Majesty, the Go- " vernor General was anxious that his (the " Lama's) country should continue in peace; " and that an end should be put to war, which

" ultimately contributed only to the misery and " distress of his subjects. With this view, there- " fore, the Governor General should be happy " if his amicable interference could, in any " shape, contribute to establish harmony and " peace between the Lama and the Rajah of Na- " paul, and should be ready to use it in the way " of a friend and mediator. As the (then) pre- " sent seasons of the rains, however, would not " admit that any steps towards such mediation " be adopted, he should postpone his intentions " until the rains were over, when he would de- " pute a gentleman, in his confidence, to that " quarter, who would communicate his senti- " ments fully; and by his endeavours he hoped " that peace would again reign between the " Lama and the Rajah of Napaul, and the inti- " macy and friendship between each other be " increased. That gentleman being in his con- " fidence, would be accompanied by a few sepoys " as a guard and protection to himself and ser- " vants; and this the Governor General men- " tioned, to prevent the bad effect of fallacious " reports."

Some opportunities, however, offered, or pressing circumstances happened, to induce the Chinese and Thibetian troops to put an end to

the war as soon as possible, by attacking the Rajah of Napaul, notwithstanding the inconvenience of the rains, without waiting for the effect of the proffered mediation; and the Rajah, despairing of the succour with which he had vainly flattered himself from the English, restored the plunder he had seized, and was allowed to continue in possession of his former territories. The Chinese general had, in the beginning, threatened to exterminate the Rajah's race, and to add his dominions to those of China. In such an event, the British, would have joined the Chinese, empire. But whether he was apprehensive that such a neighbourhood would not be coveted by the English, who might still interfere to prevent it, or was satisfied with the glory he had acquired, and mindful how much his army had already suffered in the several conflicts that had taken place, he affected to procure the Rajah's pardon from the Emperor, on the ground of "his coun-" try being of small extent, and its inhabitants " of a foreign tribe;" and on " his consenting to " pay a fixed tribute, and to deliver up the bones " of Sumhur Lama, the original instigator of the " war, together with his women and effects." But over the Soubah, or country of Lassa, which he came to protect for the Lama, he placed a

temporal chief, to whom he committed the care of all affairs civil and political; alleging, that "the territory of Lassa had, for a great length "of time, been in the firm possession of the Im- "perial throne, and so should always remain."

Thus those regions, which had been hitherto considered as pertaining to the great Lama, the supreme sovereign, in regard to spiritual affairs, and, in regard to temporal, under the protection only of the Emperor of China, as first disciple and defender of his faith, were now declared an integral part of the Chinese empire. From its new boundary, on the side of Hindostan, to the British possessions there, only a narrow territory intervenes, about one degree in latitude, part of which constitutes Napaul. The western boundary of China had already approached somewhat to the eastern limits of Hindostan, since the year 1773, when a Chinese general, *Akoui*, entirely subdued a people, called *Miaotse*, part of whom had lived within the ancient boundaries of the Chinese empire, but had rebelled; and part inhabited an independent territory to the westward of it. Should an interference take place in future, on the part of his Imperial Majesty, in the dissensions which frequently arise between the princes possessing the countries lying along

the eastern limits of Hindostan, as has now happened, in relation to its northern neighbours, there may be occasion for much mutual discussion and explanation between the British and Chinese governments; and no slight precaution may be necessary, on their parts, to avoid being involved in the quarrels of their respective dependents or allies. The immediate intercourse, however, between the frontiers of Hindostan and China, was not increased by the late events in Thibet and Napaul; for the Chinese general, who was victorious over the latter, became as jealous, as its former sovereigns are described to have been, of any visit from an English envoy; and he wrote a very civil letter to dissuade the Governor General from sending the deputation thither which he had intended. "As the journey," the Chinese general observed, "from the Governor's "place of residence to Napaul was very long, it "were putting himself to great inconvenience to "depute a person thither. What necessity was "there to put himself to inconvenience? He "hoped the Governor would alter his intention: "no doubt his letter to the Rajah had its due "effect, and induced him to yield obedience to "the Imperial yoke." The letter concluded with acknowledgments of the Governor Gene-

ral's "uprightness, attachment, and friendliness." If a copy of this letter had reached the Emperor's hands, it would effectually have refuted any account, he might have formerly received, of English succours having been afforded to his enemy; but the writer of it was not, probably, disposed to acknowledge, by the transmission of such a letter to his Imperial Majesty, the futility of the reports that had been previously made to him: and there was little likelihood of his learning it through any other channel, as no communication whatever had then, as yet, taken place between the courts of London and Pekin.

Had not the Embassy intended for China, in 1787, been defeated, as mentioned in the beginning of this work, by the untimely decease of the gentleman then appointed as British minister to the court of Pekin, his presence there would have probably prevented any misunderstanding taking effect on occasion of the Thibet war. It is even possible, that no such war would have been carried on. Nothing but the repeated provocations of the Napaul Rajah could have forced the Emperor to engage in an undertaking so distant and precarious. In his former war against the Eleuths in Tartary, tho it terminated in the subjugation of their country, it was waged, in the

course of it, with a variety of opposite successes. His troops were often worsted. A great proportion of them perished. The contest lasted a long time; and cost immense sums. His Chinese ministers were averse from wars; and his own advanced age took, latterly, much away from the relish of any conquest. Had any person from the King of Great Britain been accredited in China, in 1789 or 1790, by whose means the government of Bengal might have been requested to exert its influence, at an early period, with the Rajah of Napaul, to desist from his predatory incursions into Thibet, the Emperor would have preferred such a method of attaining his purpose, without a risk, upon the same principle, which induced afterwards the commander of his forces to apply to the Governor of Bengal to bring about the same effect. And Thibet might have been productive of more advantage to Bengal, in its independent state, than as a province of another empire.

If, fortunately, the events of the Thibet war had reached the present Embassador before he had left the neighbourhood of Canton, he might have been enabled to destroy the effect of any misrepresentation of them; but in the present instance, he was yet utterly unacquainted with

every circumstance from whence the late groundless and injurious rumour against the English had arisen; and had not, therefore, the common resources for refuting calumny, by a statement of the particulars to which it was meant to be applied. The pains which, indeed, his Excellency took to convince his principal Chinese fellow-travellers, that the story they had heard could have no foundation, had, from their confidence in his assertions, their full effect on their own minds; but they were not authorized to hold any immediate communication with the court; and were apprehensive that, prejudiced as it was, a favourable declaration on their part would be construed into a corrupt partiality for their new acquaintance. They had beside, being of a Chinese race as well as birth, no sort of influence over the Tartar Legate: a secret, but strong antipathy still subsisting between those two nations.

To the Legate, who was alone allowed to correspond with the government, concerning the Embassy, and whose good will the Embassador tried every means to cultivate, he took opportunities of conveying information of the great distance from the chief English settlement of Calcutta to Napaul and Thibet, and the slight

connection of the English with either country in comparison to their trade to Canton, and their preferable attention consequently to the latter object. He mentioned also the instructions given constantly to the Governor of Bengal, to be particularly attentive to such of its neighbours as were amicably connected with, or under the protection of, the Chinese empire. A more direct denial of having given succour to its enemies, when no accusation was brought forward, or even the belief of any ground for it avowed, might serve only to enforce the probability of the fact on the temper with which the Embassador had to deal. Whatever effect his observations might have had on the opinion of the Legate on this particular point, they produced little alteration on him in other respects; and he showed no disposition to make a favourable or just representation of the English, or of the Embassy. From suspicion, or ill-will on his own part, he declined even forwarding the Embassador's letters to Sir Erasmus Gower, by the messengers of government, tho he knew that the Emperor had been pleased to transmit a packet to his Excellency, which had been carried to Zhe-hol. There was no opportunity of conveyance without the Legate's permission: and an attempt to obtain

it, for the purpose of communicating with the Company's Commissioners at Canton, was likewise fruitless. The Embassy was thus shut out from the most necessary intercourse, with little prospect of redress; the Legate being the intimate creature of the Colao, who was the prime minister of the empire; and the intentions of the one might be conjectured from the conduct of the other.

Such were the untoward circumstances which presented themselves before the Embassy had yet reached the capital. It had moved only by slow degrees against the current of the river. In this course, large junks were constantly met passing from Tong-choo-foo, in the neighbourhood of Pekin, where they had carried grain; and were returning before the approach of the winter season, during which the river is constantly frozen over, tho within the fortieth degree of north latitude. Most of those large junks were in the service of government, and employed in carrying such of the taxes as were taken in kind: a mode of taxation which had, at least, the advantage of preventing the possibility of individuals being forced to sell the produce of their labour at an under value, in order to discharge the amount of the impost, were it exacted in coin

or in silver bullion, which are here equally current. Part of the taxes received in grain is destined to replenish the granaries which are erected in every province of the empire, in order to mitigate the evil of a scarcity, where there is little recourse to foreign markets. Upon the deck of each of these large junks is built a long range of apartments, containing several families. It was calculated, that every one of these vessels contained not less than fifty persons; and that there were, between Tong-choo-foo and Tien-sing, at least, one thousand such grain junks; thus containing fifty thousand inhabitants. An immense number of various other kinds of craft were continually passing to and fro, or lying before the towns bordering upon the river; and the number of people in them could not be less than fifty thousand more. So that upon a branch of a single river, the population of its moveable habitations amounted to one hundred thousand persons.

In this shallow river, the mud, or diluted clay, raised from its bottom by the large vessels passing over it, or detached from its loose banks, or wafted down from the distant hills, is suspended in the water, in such large quantities, as to render it scarcely potable. But it is quickly

refined for use, by the following simple process. A small lump of alum is put into the hollow joint of a bamboo, which is perforated with several holes. The water taken from the river is stirred about with this bamboo for three or four minutes, during which, the earthy particles uniting with the alum, are precipitated to the bottom, leaving the water above them clear and pure. This method was not applied in consequence of any general knowledge of the elective attractions of different bodies, and is scarcely known to chemists, even where that theory is familiar. Practical men are satisfied to make trials for answering the particular purpose they have in view. The numerous Chinese, who subsist upon the rivers, sought, until they found, the means of rendering the water in them, fit to become a wholesome beverage. The water of the Nile is also said to be purified by alum. And its use, for the same purpose, has been discovered in Europe, likewise, by workmen employed in different manufactures, in which the mixture of clay and other earths, in water, was injurious.

Persons of rank in China are so careful about the quality of the water, intended for their own consumption, that they seldom drink any without its being distilled; and every Chinese in-

fuses tea, or some other vegetable supposed to be salubrious, in the water which he uses. It is generally taken hot, as is indeed wine, and every other liquid; and habit has that effect upon the senses, that fermented and spirituous liquors made hot, are thought agreeable, as well as salutary. In other climates, warm beverages are also found most wholesome. In the hot climate of Hindostan, choultries or inns are founded along some of the public roads, as buildings for pious uses are elsewhere. In those choultries, weak, but warmed liquors are provided for all travellers. The Chinese enjoy, however, in hot weather, the grateful coolness produced by ice, seldom, indeed, applied to any of their liquors; but principally to fruit and sweetmeats, which thus may be justly termed refreshments. In bowls, which are generally used in China instead of dishes, alternate layers were placed of ice, together with kernels of apricots and walnuts, or the seeds and slices of the hairy root of the lien-wha, or *nymphæa nelumbo*, probably the lotus of the Egyptians; and were frequently presented to the Embassador and his suite at breakfasts, given by some of the principal mandarines.

Tho tea be the general beverage of all the Chinese; tho they drink it between meals, and

present it to their guests on visits at all hours, yet strong, and particularly spirituous, liquors are sometimes relished by them, especially in the northern provinces. When the company begins to be exhilarated, and some of the party are desirous of retiring, the same compulsory devices are described to be practiced for preventing their departure, or recalling them, if already gone away, as have sometimes been used on similar occasions of convivial merriment in Europe.

As to eating, the mandarines did indulge themselves in habits of luxury. They ate several meals, each day, of animal food highly seasoned: each meal consisting of several courses. They employed part of their intervals of leisure in smoking tobacco mixed with odorous substances, and sometimes a little opium, or in chewing the areca nut. Tho books of entertainment, such as histories, plays, and novels, abound in China, reading was not there become so universal an amusement, as it is now in all the polished parts of Europe. Sedentary gratifications of the senses, rather than exercises of the body, or pleasures of the mind, seemed to be the resources principally thought of in vacant hours.

The chief mandarines, Chow and Van Tazhin, passed much time in conversation with the

Embassador and the gentlemen of the Embassy, with the assistance of the interpreters. The mandarines asked, indeed, fewer questions than they answered. The Chinese are, perhaps, of any people, the most eager in their curiosity about foreigners coming amongst them; it being a sight so rare, except at Canton. But about the countries of such foreigners they are more indifferent. They have been always in the habit of confining their ideas to their own country, emphatically styled, *the middle kingdom*. No Chinese ever thinks of quitting it, except a few, of desperate fortunes, residing near the sea coast, or of seafaring men, who form a class apart, in great measure from society. Even foreign commodities consumed in China remind them only of Canton, from whence they receive them as if produced in it. Regions out of Asia are scarcely mentioned in their books, or noticed on their distorted maps. They have, indeed, some florid descriptions of Hindostan; and the same story is mentioned, by Chinese writers, which is inserted in the Abbé Raynal's relation of both the Indies. The story relates to a district in Hindostan, of which the government is described to have been once so perfect, and the people so strictly honest, that a purse or a jewel dropped

upon the road, would be left by the finder on the nearest conspicuous spot, that the loser might the more easily discover it on missing, and returning to search for, his lost treasure. The Chinese did not, certainly, borrow this account from the French author, nor the latter from the former: and the coincidence leads to hope that there was some foundation in truth for it.

With regard to more distant regions, no doubt, persons in the government of China must have a knowledge of its external relations; as mercantile men must have of the places with which their trade connects them. The other classes of society have scarcely any thing to interest them out of China; and the bulk of the people would, perhaps, be little gratified, in respect to foreign countries, with any thing less than tales of wonders not performed at home, or of powers exerted beyond the ordinary boundaries of nature.

To the mandarines, who conducted the Embassy, it afforded sufficient pleasure to satisfy the inquiries made about their own country, as far as they were able. Tho, in their opinions, they were partial and national; in regard to facts, they seemed to endeavour at being correct. Chow-ta-zhin particularly, who was a man of business,

founded his information generally upon public documents. The Legate seldom passed into familiar converse with the Embassador; nor was it deemed expedient to appear inquisitive about China in his presence. He visited his Excellency almost every day, tho he travelled part of the way by land, and with no inconsiderable pomp. He was preceded by soldiers or servants, announcing loudly his approach, and clearing the way before him. His carriage was such a sedan chair as has been mentioned in a former page, but more ornamented with silken tassels. It was borne by four men, whose strength was applied in the following manner. The poles of the chair were suspended at their extremities by cords; in the bend of which short bamboos were passed. The ends of each short bamboo rested upon the shoulders of the chairmen, of whom two supported and divided the weight before the chair, and two behind. Four others were in attendance to relieve them. Servants carrying umbrellas, and other standards of honour, accompanied the chair, which was followed by several men on horseback. It seldom, indeed, happens that any mandarine of rank either travels, or is even seen out of his own house, without a train suitable to his dignity. So essential it is thought

for men in office to preserve, unremittingly, the appearances calculated to inspire the vulgar with respect, that for such persons to walk the streets, at any time, without attendants, would be considered as a sort of degradation. They were therefore careful to maintain all the importance of their station, and to exact from the people all the honours appertaining to it. This habit rendered them the more attentive in paying those they considered due to others, and especially to foreigners of distinction received amongst them.

At every military post, and every town of note along the river, troops were drawn out while the yachts carrying the Embassy were passing, and a salute of three guns was fired. These guns were a kind of short petards, intended only for salutes. A small quantity of gunpowder is put into them. They are fixed perpendicularly in the ground, and rammed full of sand or earth. After the salutes were over, the gaudy dresses or uniform of the soldiers, worn upon extraordinary occasions, together with their arms, were said to be deposited in the storehouse of the station until they should again be wanted. In the intervals the men assume not always a military, but often the common, habit of the people, and are

occupied in manufactures, or the cultivation of the land. They, certainly, thus become more useful in time of peace; but must have less of the spirit and discipline which fit for scenes of war. The pay and allowances of the soldiery exceed the usual earnings of common men. Some shadow likewise of that power, which they display when under the orders of their officers, follows them, in their separate capacity: and, upon the whole, to be inlisted, is considered as, in some sort, to be preferred; and it requires neither force nor stratagem to recruit the Chinese army.

Of military posts, some were passed every day, when the high road happened to approach the river. This road was good, but very narrow. Few carriages were seen upon it, and none with more than two wheels, either for carrying goods or travellers. Both were equally without springs. Gentlemen travel, generally, on horseback, or in sedan chairs, or chair-palanquins; and ladies are, mostly, carried in close litters, suspended between mules or horses. But these conveyances were little used, except for short distances; or in places remote from rivers or canals. Semedo asserts, in his History of

China, that formerly coaches were much in use there, from whence they were first introduced into Italy, in the sixteenth century: tho the Chinese have laid them since aside, as inconvenient and expensive.

The custom, mentiond by some old travellers, of the Chinese applying sails to carriages by land is still, in some degree, retained. It was probably observed in parts less fertile than the borders of the Pei-ho; for Milton mentions—

" The barren plains
" Of Sericana, where Chineses drive
" With sails and wind their cany waggons light."

Those cany waggons are small carts, or double barrows, of bamboo, with one large wheel between them. When there is no wind to favour the progress of such a cart, it is drawn by a man, who is regularly harnessed to it, while another keeps it steady from behind, beside assisting in pushing it forward. The sail, when the wind is favourable, saves the labour of the former of these two men. It consists only of a mat, fixed between two poles rising from the opposite sides of the cart. This simple contrivance can only

be of use when the cart is intended to run before the wind; and was, probably, the resource of an individual, who wished to have no companion of his labour, and partner of his profits, or who happened not to meet one. Complicated machines, susceptible of being applied to important purposes, are most likely to owe their origin to countries where the mind is excited to exertion, and invention upon the stretch, by the prospect of large emoluments arising from discoveries for improving the quality of any article of consumption, or for supplying it in more considerable quantities, or at a cheaper rate, than by the methods before in practice.

No deficiency appeared in the construction of the bridges which were observed in the neighbourhood of the Pei-ho. None, indeed, were erected over it, which might have impeded its navigation; but several, of hewn stone, were thrown over branches that ran into it, or canals that were dug from it. The remains of a bridge, in one place, indicated the force of an inundation, violent enough to carry a part of it away. Near it was a considerable palace, surrounded by a garden and pleasure grounds, inclosed within a wall, with a treble gate towards the water side. It was said to belong to the Emperor, and to be the occasional

residence of some part of his family. No private property seemed to be adorned for pleasure. Every large building was declared to be destined for some public use; or for the habitation of a man in office. Such, if there were, to whom fortunes had descended from their ancestors, but who held no department under government, were certainly not ostentatious in their possessions; and enjoyed their riches in obscurity.

The persons composing the Embassy had scarcely seen a cloud moving in the sky since their arrival in China; nor was there a hillock on any side between them and the horizon, until the fourth day of their departure from Tien-sing, when some high blue mountains were seen rising from the north-west. They indicated the approach to Pekin, beyond which they were situate. Two days afterwards, on the sixteenth of August, the yachts came to anchor within twelve miles of that great capital, and within half a mile of the city of Tong-choo-foo, beyond which the Pei-ho was no longer navigable unless for boats; and the Embassy ceased travelling by water for some time. The distance from Tien-sing to Tong-choo-foo is about ninety miles.

The former companions of the Embassy, who remained in the Lion and Hindostan, did not

long continue in the gulf of Pe-che-lee. While they were at anchor there, they ascertained the following points.

Latitude of the anchorage	38°	51½ north.
Longitude by time-keeper	117	50 east.
Longitude by the mean of several observations of the sun and moon, on the 29th of July - -	118	7 east.
Longitude by observations of the same, on the 30th	117	58 east.
Mean of observations of both days - - -	118	2′30″ east.
Variation of the compass, by amplitude, on the 27th of July - - -	1	30 west.
And on the 28th, -	1	20 west.
Latitude of the sandy islands in the gulf, named by the old Pilot, Sha-loo-poo-tien	39	1 north.
Longitude of the same by time-keeper -	118	40 east.
Latitude of the mouth of the Pei-ho, or white river	39	0 north.

The rise and fall of the tides at the anchorage, were about eight or nine feet. They ebbed and flowed irregularly, and from every point of the

compass; but the strength of the flood tide was from the south-east, and of the ebb from the north-west. On the sixth of August (being the day of new moon) the flood tide made at nine hours forty minutes, in the morning; it rose ten feet, and was high water at one o'clock; and remained, without turning, till four in the afternoon. The wind was then east, and moderate. There was no perceptible difference in the observation of the tide on the following day. These circumstances were accurately noticed, upon the suggestion of a foreign astronomer of eminence, who wished those facts to be ascertained, as necessary towards the completion of a theory of the tides in which he was engaged.

On the eighth of August the ships set sail, and on the twelfth passed through the straits of Mi-a-tao. They were accompanied through the gulf by a vast number of junks, of different sizes, some with four stout masts, tapering regularly to the head, and none of them supported by shrouds, but fixed by a strong massy step, in the kelson below, and kept firm by large wedges, driven in at the partners above. Their sails were some of matting, others of cotton. Their cables and ties were mostly made of hemp,

apparently well manufactured. The smallest only of the junks passed through the Mi-a-tao strait. The others went to the northward of the islands that bear the same name, which track experience had, no doubt, shown to be the safest passage.

At Ten-choo-foo Sir Erasmus Gower experienced the good effects of the orders that had been forwarded in his favour by the Viceroy of Peche-lee. A supply was furnished of provisions and live stock for all his people. From thence he proceeded to examine the bay of Ki-san-seu, sometimes called Zeu-a-tao bay. He arrived there the fifteenth of August, and "found the "bay sufficiently secure in all directions for a "well-found ship to winter in; the bay extensive; depth of water from nine to five fathoms, "the ground tough and very holding." Wood for fuel, and fresh water were, however, at a distance in the bay. The fatigue of obtaining these might prove injurious to the Lion's crew, in their diminished number and weakened state. The barren aspect of the neighbouring country, and the poverty of the inhabitants, left it doubtful whether the sick and convalescents of the squadron could be easily supplied there with all

things necessary to recruit them. It was determined, therefore, to continue the voyage to Chusan, where there was a greater likelihood of effectual assistance. The distance was short, the season favourable; and, in the former passage, it had been found, that "in no part of the world "was the sea so clear of danger as from Chu-san "to the river of Tien-sing."

CHAPTER IV.

EMBASSY LANDS NEAR TONG-CHOO-FOO; PROCEEDS THROUGH PEKIN TO A PALACE IN ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD; RETURNS TO THE CAPITAL.

THE Embassador and his suite had hitherto prosecuted their journey towards the capital of China without fatigue or inconvenience. They could not but be gratified in finding, in almost every object that presented itself to them, something, from its novelty, striking to the eye, or otherwise interesting to the mind. Even the uniformity of the country, through which they had travelled, was a spectacle scarcely to be paralleled, for so vast an extent, elsewhere. The whole of it might be considered, according to a sacred and pleasing theory, as a part of the earth in the first state of its formation, preserving still its equal and fruitful surface, while convulsions threw the rest into inequality and deformity; but to those, who attend to the operations of nature, it appeared as a creation subsequent to the existence of the more elevated portions of the globe, and consisting of alluvial land brought down by

torrents from the neighbouring mountains, and settling at the bottom of them, and gradually gaining upon the sea.

Towards the western extremity of the immense plain, probably so formed, stands Pekin, the present capital of China. The route lay through it from Tong-choo-foo to the autumnal palace of the Emperor, called Yuen-min-yuen, or garden of perpetual verdure, where such of the presents as could not be transported with safety to Zhehol, were to be deposited; and the Embassador and his suite were to be accommodated close to Yuen-min-yuen, while preparations were making for the journey into Tartary.

As there was no navigable communication for vessels of the size of yachts between Pekin and Tong-choo-foo, where those of the Embassy were now arrived, a temple or monastery near the latter was prepared for the reception of the persons landing from them. The baggage and presents were secured in two temporary buildings erected for the purpose, of which the materials were strong bamboos, and close matting impervious to rain. Each of those buildings was upwards of two hundred feet in length. They were situate opposite to each other; surrounded by a strong fence, and shut in with gates at the extre-

mities. Guards were stationed round; and notices posted up forbidding all persons from approaching the place with fire. These extensive storehouses were finished in a few hours. Every thing brought by the Embassy was taken out of upwards of thirty vessels, and safely lodged in the course of a single day. Materials and labourers are, indeed, in China, at the instant command of the state. There was also a promptitude and cheerfulness of obedience, which argued a confident expectation of an adequate recompence.

The temple and monastery intended for the accommodation of the Embassador and his suite, had been founded by a munificent bigot, some centuries ago, for the maintenance of twelve priests of the religion of Fo, which is the most general in China. This edifice is now occasionally converted into a kind of choultry, or caravansera, where travellers of rank are lodged in their journies, upon the public service, through this part of the country. The most conspicuous deity in this temple was a personification of Providence, under a female figure, holding in her hand a circular plate, with an eye depicted on it. This figure displayed some grace and dignity.

Mr. Hickey, painter to the Embassy, and already quoted in the former volume, notices this

building in the following terms: "It is situate "on a rising ground, of gentle ascent, about half "a mile from the river, and close to the suburbs "of Tong-choo-foo, and is encompassed with a "high wall, in which a small door, opposite to "the river, was guarded upon the occasion by "Chinese soldiers; and before it was a tent, con- "taining a band of musicians, to play whenever "the Embassador, or principal persons of the "Embassy, passed by them. From this door, "through several court-yards and low buildings "for domestic uses, a passage led to those par- "ticularly consecrated to the exercises of reli- "gion. They were separated from the others by "a wall, in which was an opening of the exact "form of a circle. The diameter was about eight "feet. Beyond this circular opening were two "places or halls of worship, situate opposite to "each other; between them was a spacious area; "and before each was a portico supported by "wooden columns, painted red, and varnished. "The diameters of those columns were small in "proportion to their length. They tapered slight- "ly from the base to the capital, which was little "ornamented, except with gilding. The base "rested simply, like the ancient Doric, upon the

" floor. The halls of worship were of the whole " height of the fabric, without any concealment " of the beams or rafters of the roof. They con- " tained several statues of male and female deities, " some carved in wood, and painted with a va- " riety of colours, mostly of modern and indif- " ferent workmanship; others were of porce- " lain."

The numerous train of the Embassador took up most parts of the temple that were allotted for dwelling places, and one priest only remained in it, to watch over the lamps of the shrine, and to receive his Excellency's commands, while the rest retired to a monastery in the neighbourhood; but attended in the halls of worship at stated hours. The apartments they had quitted were desirable in that warm season, on account of their coolness. At one end of each room was a platform of boards, raised upwards of a foot above the floor, such as are sometimes seen in military guard-rooms in Europe. A thick woollen cloth, not woven, but worked into a firm substance, like felt for hats, was spread upon the platform, and, with the addition of a cushion, formed the whole of the bedding, on which those priests reposed; and little more is used by other classes of society

in China, where, at least the common people, continue to wear at night a considerable part of the dress which covers them in the day.

The separate apartments, belonging to the superiors of the monastery, were now allotted to the principal persons of the Embassy. In some of the other rooms the priests had suffered scorpions and scolopendras to harbour thro neglect. Those noisome insects were known only by description to some gentlemen of the Embassy, who had not visited the southern parts of Europe. The sight of such, for the first time, in their bedchambers, and upon their clothes, excited a degree of horror in their minds; and it seemed to them to be a sufficient objection to the country, that it produced those animals. But the apprehension was greater than the danger. For however capable of mischief, they are found to commit it, where they most abound, but very seldom; and no accident happened from them in the present instance. The heat of the weather, which was favourable to their existence, was, indeed, felt as no trifling inconvenience. The thermometer of Fahrenheit rose, in the shade, to eighty-six degrees; its violence, however, was avoided in the open courts within the precincts of the temple, by canvas sheets spread horizontally between the ridges

of the roofs. Cords were attached to the canvas, with a contrivance to enable persons underneath, to move it in whatever sense was necessary, to admit the air into those places from whence the sun successively withdrew.

The morning after the arrival of the Embassy, every person belonging to it partook of a banquet, to which they were invited by the mandarines. It was deemed, from the hour of giving it, a breakfast; but which, from the kinds and quantities of viands served, was equal to the most substantial repast. Tho tea be made to accompany or follow every meal, it does not constitute the principal part of any. The tables were spread in such different parts of the new storehouses, as happened to be vacant. No other place, under cover, was sufficiently ample. It seemed, in this instance, to be the Chinese etiquette, when an extraordinary mark of civility is intended, to include, with the principal object of it, the whole of his attendants of every degree. Invitations to partake of the gratifications of the table are, it seems, considered as so essential a portion of good breeding, that they were not to be omitted on the present occasion, tho the hospitality of the Emperor rendered every other a matter of supererogation.

The assemblage of people was so great upon

the broad sandy beach, between the temple and the river, that booths were erected there, in which a variety of articles, but principally fruits and liquors, were exposed to sale. The stands were shaded by quadrilateral roofs of canvas, supported from the centre by a single pole stuck into the ground. Fires for cooking victuals were made in the open air, and fire-engines were at hand, near water, in case of accidents arising from them. Those engines were constructed on principles, similar to those of Europe; and they are said to have been introduced into China, and partly from materials brought from England; since the conflagration which happened at Canton, in Lord Anson's time, when the use of them, by his sailors, had so great an effect in stopping it. Other European improvements and conveniences will probably be adopted by the Chinese, as the intercourse with them shall increase; and the exportation of such articles alone from Great Britain is likely to add materially to its commerce.

Amongst all the crowds assembled near Tong-choo-foo, or those which the approach of the Embassy had attracted in other places, since its entrance into China, not one person in the habit of a beggar had been seen, or any one observed to solicit charity. No small portion of the people

seemed, it is true, to be in a state approaching indigence; but none were driven to the necessity, or inured to the habit, of craving assistance from a stranger. The present was not, indeed, one of those seasons of calamity, which destroys or diminishes the usual resources of the peasant, and drives him sometimes, even into criminal excesses, to procure subsistence. In such times, however, the Emperor of China always comes forward; he orders the granaries to be opened: he remits the taxes to those who are visited by misfortune; he affords assistance to enable them to retrieve their affairs; he appears to his subjects, as standing almost in the place of Providence; in their favour; he is perfectly aware by how much a stronger chain he thus maintains his absolute dominion, than the dread of punishments would afford. He has shewn himself so jealous of retaining the exclusive privilege of benevolence to his subjects, that he not only rejected, but was offended at, the proposal once made to him, by some considerable merchants, to contribute towards the relief of a suffering province. He accepted, at the same time, the donation of a rich widow of Tien-sing, towards the expences of the Thibet war. But independently of any general evil, which every wise govern-

ment is attentive to remedy or alleviate, accidental causes of distress, or individual failures of the means to procure subsistence, give occasion, at all times, in most other countries, to the affecting spectacle of human beings dependent for their existence, on the precarious aid of those whom they may chance to meet, but who have the power of withholding it.

The Embassador had given gratuities, occasionally, to the people of the yachts, and others employed about the Embassy; but such gratuities were never asked, and were unknown to the mandarines. As these had already insisted upon charging to the Emperor's account some small articles purchased by them for one or two gentlemen of the Embassy, a party of the latter went themselves to buy a few trifles in the adjoining city, for which excursion beside, their curiosity was a sufficient motive. Some of the mandarines took the trouble of accompanying them, particularly Van-ta-zhin, who was a native, and willing to do the honours, of the place. He conducted them through a large suburb, which denoted the modern increase of Tong-choo-foo, since the erection of the walls that encompass the original buildings. The walls are of brick, substantially built, and higher than the houses they in-

close, which mostly are of wood. The city walls are washed by the river on one side, and defended by a broad wet ditch on the others. There were no guns upon the ramparts, but a few swivels were placed upright near the gates. The principal streets were straight, paved with broad flag-stones, and had a raised footh-path on each side. An awning across the streets, shaded them from the scorching heat of the sun's rays. Many however, of the labouring people, were naked from the waist upwards. Several extensive buildings contained grain of different kinds, of which, it was said, a provision for several years is always kept in store, for the consumption of the capital. Most of the houses had shops or working rooms n front. And an industry was displayed, such as the neighbourhood of Pekin was likely to excite. The outside of the shops was painted with a variety of lively colours, as well as gilt, with rich ensigns before them, and long labels inviting customers. Amongst the chief articles exposed to sale were tea, silks, and porcelain, imported from the southward, and furs of different kinds, most of which were brought from Tartary. It was a pleasing circumstance to observe, also, among other goods, some English cloths, tho in no considerable quantities.

The appearance of Englishmen interrupted, for a while, the usual occupations of the people. Other Europeans, mostly missionaries, had travelled thro that city: but in order to escape notice, they were clad in the long dresses of the country, and had suffered their beards to grow, in imitation of the Chinese. The short coats and smooth faces of the present strangers, formed, therefore, a new spectacle. The greatest surprise, however, was occasioned by a black servant, who attended one of the gentlemen of the party. He had been brought from Batavia, to supply the place of an European who returned home. The jet hue of his complexion, his woolly head, and features peculiar to the negroes, nothing like which had been remembered to have been seen before, in this inland part of China, led some of the spectators almost to doubt, whether he belonged to the human species: and the boys exclaimed, that it must be a black demon, *fan-quee*; but a good-humoured countenance soon reconciled them to his appearance; and they continued to stare at him without apprehension or dislike.

As the party passed along the streets, they observed, in several places on the sides of houses, the projection of a lunar eclipse, which was to happen soon afterwards. In the clear and plea-

sant atmosphere of this climate, all classes of men living mostly out of doors are inclined to be attentive to the appearances of the heavens, which they acquire gradually the habit of connecting with sublunary events, as if the latter were dependent upon the former. Some accidental coincidences taking place served to strengthen this belief; and the vanity of prediction had certainly its share in forming the pretended science of astrology. If eclipses, in particular, were considered as having the power to influence the operations of nature, and the transactions of mankind, the periods of their occurrence necessarily became an object of attention and solicitude; and the government of the country, ever anxious to establish the foundations of its authority in the people's opinion of its superior wisdom and constant care of their security and welfare, has converted their prejudices to account, by exclusively procuring a communication of whatever science and observation could afford in this respect. Such communications are afterwards announced to the people, as in the instance of the present projection, at the times, and with the solemnity, fitted to ensure veneration for that superintending power from whence such knowledge was immediately derived to them.

It is easy to conceive also, in regard to eclipses of the sun, how much the disappearance of that luminary in the midst of its wonted career must have appeared awful (as if nature were about to be annihilated) to him who is ignorant of the natural causes of such an event, and of the certain shortness of its duration. The people of China have, from the earliest ages, considered a solar eclipse as ominous of some general calamity; and as great pains are taken to inspire them with a belief that their prosperity is owing to the wisdom and virtues of their sovereign, so they are tempted to attribute to some deficiency on his part whatever they think portentous. To this inconvenient prejudice, the Emperor, himself, finds it prudent to accommodate his conduct. He never ventures on any undertaking of importance at the approach of such an eclipse, but affects to withdraw himself from the presence of his courtiers, to examine strictly into his late administration of the empire, in order to correct any error, for the commission of which the eclipse may have been an admonition, and invites his subjects to offer him freely their advice.

Some of the mandarines, who accompanied the English in their excursion to Tong-choo-foo, were well aware of the true nature of eclipses.

They knew also that there were Europeans employed at the Emperor's court in the calculation of them; but believed their own countrymen capable of predicting them with tolerable exactness. It did not appear, however, from their conversation, by what means such predictions were effected. There were indeed, among the Chinese, constant and patient observers; but they did not seem to possess the science of calculation necessary to arrive at the solution of any intricate problems. Even the first operations of arithmetic were not very generally known amongst them. In the shops, where the party went to buy some trifles, regular entries were made of the articles disposed of; and the several prices were affixed in the common Chinese characters, equivalent to the words which express numbers in other languages; but not by a distinct set of figures, upon a system similar to that of those called Arabic by Europeans; of which the powers or amount increase decimally, as they are placed to the left of each other upon the same line; and to which the usual operations of arithmetic may apply. The Chinese calculate by the assistance of a machine, called by them *swan-pan*, in which balls are strung upon wires in different columns, and arranged upon the plan of Arabic

figures, the balls representing units in the first column to the right, with a decuple progression of the others from right, to left.

The decimal multiplication and subdivision of quantities and measures, used almost in every instance by the Chinese, greatly simplifies their computations. Thus, for example, a *leang*, which may be considered as a Chinese ounce of silver, is subdivided into ten *chen*, the chen into ten *fen*, and the fen into ten *lee*. The ideal subdivisions of money descend much lower, but always, as well as in increasing quantities, in the same decimal proportions. A lee, or thousandth part of a leang, is an actual coin of copper, far from being pure. It is of a circular form, with a square hole in the middle, for the convenience of being strung together upon a sort of pack-thread; and tens and multiples of tens pass thus current; often a smaller number only is transferred unstrung. A coin of such little value is convenient to the poorer part of the people, who thus can buy as small a quantity of merchandise as they please, or is suitable to their situation; and in lieu of which, for an article wanted, a higher price might sometimes be demanded, if payment of a smaller could not be effected for want of change. Tea, like beer in

England, is sold in public houses in every town, and along public roads, and the banks of rivers and canals. In these a single cup is sold for a single *lee*; nor is it unusual for the burdened and wearied traveller to lay down his load, refresh himself with one cup of warm tea, and then pursue his journey.

These *lees*, collectively called *chen*, form, in fact, the only standard coin in China. Government may have considered, that one material only can, in strictness form a standard coin. For the relative values of two or more metals, for example, taken separately, are liable to vary from the different proportions which may occasionally take place between the demand for them in the market, for other uses than as a medium of exchange, and the quantities of them respectively exposed to sale; so that a piece of money, of one metal, may in fact become worth more or less than that of another metal, which the standard had made of equal value to it, according to the prices of the metals at the time of the adjustment.

Silver is more properly, among the Chinese, a merchandise. None of it is coined, but large payments are made with lumps of it in the form

of the crucibles in which it was refined, and with the stamp of a single character upon it, to ascertain its weight, mostly of ten ounces.

The value of silver, in proportion to the current coin, varies according to the relative scarcity or plenty of that metal issued from the Imperial treasury. Spanish dollars are common throughout all Asia; and are equally well known to the pilot of Cochin-China, mentioned in the first volume, and to the shopkeepers of Tong-choo-foo. Gold is seldom seen in the transactions of commerce, tho it be, occasionally, employed in the luxuries of dress and furniture. In general, the value of silver has borne a much greater proprotion to that of gold in China than in Europe, except where an extraordinary demand for the latter, by foreign merchants, has increased the rate of it. That effect, indeed, was supposed likewise to have been produced by the extraordinary quantity of gold employed in the decoration of Lama temples, by the Emperor, both in China and in Tartary.

Upon the decease of a sovereign of China, the coin bearing the impression of his name, is in some degree depreciated. The material, being of such a base alloy, is little convertible to use; and specimens remaining of ancient coins are

common in the country. There are a few curious Chinese who collect coins; but none prize them to the degree of tempting artists to make counterfeits of them. A series of them, therefore, corresponding to the sovereigns mentioned in the annals of the empire, may be considered as a confirmation of their history; and a series, not indeed complete, but mounting upwards beyond the Christian era, has been brought to Europe.

The histories of China state, and the traditional accounts confirm, the natural propensity of the Chinese emperors to transmit their names and fame, by the most durable monuments, to posterity; but it has been hitherto the cruel policy of every dynasty, or new family mounting the throne of China, both to destroy the remaining branches of the former race, and to level the edifices dedicated to their memory. The ancient fabrics, therefore, which have been suffered to subsist, bear no traces of the persons by whom they were erected. One that has very much the appearance of antiquity, stands in a remote corner of Tong-choo-foo, to which it does not seem to bear the least relation, being so situate as not, even, to serve the purpose of an ornament. It is at present of no use: and its original destination is not known with certainty. It is built of

brick, and in its exterior form resembles what are called in Europe Chinese pagodas, and were supposed to be places of religious worship. The present building cannot, however, have had such an object, being, tho of considerable diameter, perfectly solid in the first and second story. There is not even the appearance of a door or window in either. There are no remains of steps, or other means of ascent to the third story, in which there is a door; the several stories, eleven in number, distinguished by a belt of brick on the outside, continue to be entire, tho weeds and shrubs are growing out of many parts of them. It is thought most probable that this building was erected prior to the existence of Tong-choo-foo, and perhaps of the great Chinese wall, and was intended for a watch tower, to guard against the sudden approach of the Tartar enemy.

Of those circular and lofty edifices, by Europeans termed pagodas, there are several kinds, and dedicated to several uses in China; but none to religious worship. The temples which are consecrated to such a purpose differ little in height from common dwelling houses, as in the instance of the Embassador's momentary residence near Tong-choo-foo. The presence of foreigners in it did not prevent the usual afflux of devotees. The

Chinese interpreter of the Embassy, who was a most zealous Christian of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and himself a priest of that communion, saw, with regret, the English curiously examining the images, or attending to the ceremonies of the religion of Fo, lest they should perceive the resemblance between its exterior forms and those of his own church. Such resemblance had been, indeed, already thought so striking, that some of the missionaries conjectured that the Chinese had formerly received a glimpse of Christianity from the Nestorians, by the way of Tartary; others that Saint Thomas the Apostle had been amongst them; but the missionary Prémare could account for it no otherwise than by supposing it to have been a trick of the Devil to mortify the Jesuits. One of them observes, that the likeness is so strong between the apparent worship of many of the priests of Fo, and that which is exhibited in churches of the Roman faith, that a Chinese conveyed into one of the latter, might imagine the votaries he saw were then adoring the deities of his own country. On the altar of a Chinese temple, behind a screen, is frequently a representation which might answer for that of the Virgin Mary, in the person of *Shin-moo*, or the sacred mother, sitting in an alcove

with a child in her arms, and rays proceeding from a circle, which are called a glory, round her head, with tapers burning constantly before her. The long coarse gowns of the Ho-shaungs, or priests of Fo, bound with cords round the waist, would almost equally suit the friars of the order of St. Francis. The former live, like the latter, in a state of celibacy, reside in monasteries together, and impose, occasionally, upon themselves voluntary penance, and rigorous abstinence.

The temples of Fo abound with more images than are found in most Christian churches; and some that bear a greater analogy to the ancient than to the present worship of the Romans. One figure, representing a female, was thought to be something similar to Lucina, and is particularly addressed by unmarried women wanting husbands; and married women wanting children. The doctrine of Fo, admitting of a subordinate deity particularly propitious to every wish which can be formed in the human breast, would scarcely fail to spread among those classes of the people who are not satisfied with their prospects, as resulting from the natural causes of events. Its progress is not obstructed by any measures of the government of the country, which does not inter-

fere with mere opinions. It prohibits no belief which is not supposed to affect the tranquillity of society.

There is in China no state religion. None is paid, preferred, or encouraged by it. The Emperor is of one faith; many of the mandarines of another; and the majority of the common people of a third, the most numerous sect of Fo. This last class, the least capable, from ignorance, of explaining the phenomena of nature, and the most exposed to wants which it cannot supply by ordinary means, is willing to recur to the supposition of extraordinary powers, which may operate the effects it cannot explain, and grant the requests which it cannot otherwise obtain.

No people are, in fact, more superstitious than the common Chinese. Beside the habitual offices of devotion on the part of the priests and females, the temples are particularly frequented by the disciples of Fo, previously to any undertaking of importance; whether to marry, or go a journey, or conclude a bargain, or change situation, or for any other material event in life, it is necessary first to consult the superintendant deity. This is performed by various methods. Some place a parcel of consecrated sticks, differently marked and numbered, which the consultant,

kneeling before the altar, shakes in a hollow bamboo, until one of them falls on the ground; its mark is examined, and referred to a correspondent mark in a book which the priest holds open; and sometimes even it is written upon a sheet of paper pasted upon the inside of the temple. Polygonal pieces of wood are by others thrown into the air. Each side has its particular mark; the side that is uppermost when fallen on the floor, is in like manner referred to its correspondent mark in the book or sheet of fate. If the first throw be favourable, the person who made it prostrates himself in gratitude, and undertakes afterwards, with confidence, the business in agitation. But if the throw should be adverse, he tries a second time, and the third throw determines, at any rate, the question. In other respects the people of the present day seem to pay little attention to their priests. The temples are, however, always open for such as choose to consult the decrees of heaven. They return thanks when the oracle proves propitious to their wishes. Yet they oftener cast lots, to know the issue of a projected enterprize, than supplicate for its being favourable; and their worship consists more in thanksgiving than in prayer.

Few Chinese are said to carry the objects,

to be obtained by their devotion, beyond the benefits of this life. Yet the religion of Fo professes the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and promises happiness to the people on conditions, which were, no doubt, originally intended to consist in the performance of moral duties; but in lieu of which are too frequently substituted those of contributions towards the erection or repair of temples, the maintenance of priests, and a strict attention to particular observances. The neglect of these is announced as punishable by the souls of the defaulters passing into the bodies of the meanest animals, in whom the sufferings are to be proportioned to the transgressions committed in the human form.

While the English were observing some of the religious customs of the Chinese, an event took place which gave the latter an opportunity of seeing an European ceremony of religion in the funeral of a person belonging to the Embassy, who died during its short stay near Tong-choo-foo. He was an ingenious and skilful artist in brass and other metals. From Bermingham he had settled in London, where he was earning a decent subsistence, when he heard that an expedition was fitting out for China. He had con-

ceived a notion that many improvements in the arts were practised at Pekin, which were little known in Europe; among others, that of making a kind of tinsel that did not tarnish, or at least that kept without tarnishing much longer, than any that was made according to European methods. He fancied that were he acquainted with such improvements, he should be enabled to provide handsomely for his family. He did not, indeed, expect to enjoy long, himself, the benefit of any secrets he should discover. He was past the middle age; of a feeble make, and subject to many complaints. But he thought it not too much to shorten his own life, in a perilous voyage, for the sake of being able to communicate to his offspring, what would be the means of their prosperity. He offered his services to the Embassy. At Madeira the Embassador perceiving this man's health impaired already in the passage, urged him to return home; but he was bent on the accomplishment of his purpose. He pursued the voyage: and tho he was visited by the epidemical diseases, by which, in the course of it, many young and robust persons rapidly lost their lives, he held out till he was within one day's journey of that capital, where he hoped to attain the object of his pursuit. His

constitution, broken down by fatigue and illness, was unable to support him any longer, and he fell a sacrifice to the affection he bore his children. He was a quiet, sober, and honest man, meek and decent in his manners: and his fellow-travellers of every rank regretted him; nor should his humble station preclude him from being mentioned in this relation of an Embassy, to which he was attached. His name was Eades. His funeral was attended, not only by the greatest number of his late fellow-travellers, but by a vast concourse of Chinese. Every form was observed, and the ceremony performed with much gravity and decency, as well in respect to the memory of the deceased, as in compliance with the ideas of the Chinese, who are apt to consider the least slight or inattention, on such solemn occasions, as marks of barbarism and inhumanity.

This Englishman was interred in the midst of several Chinese tombs, interspersed with cypress trees, at a distance from any church or temple, but near the public road leading out of Tong-choo-foo. The Chinese burying-places are no otherwise consecrated than by the veneration of the people, the remains of whose ancestors are deposited in them. The people preserve those sacred repositories, with all the care they can

afford to bestow upon them. They visit them annually, repair any breaches that accidents may have made, and remove any weeds that may have grown, or dirt that may have been thrown, about them. Where there is uncultivable ground, it is always preferred for places of interment, as less liable to be disturbed; yet the poorest peasant will respect the spot over which a heap of earth denotes a repository of the dead beneath, until in the course of time, and by the gradual effect of the weather, the heap itself sinks into a level with the circumjacent ground.

The country about Tong-choo-foo, for several miles, is level and fertile. Some of the English gentlemen were supplied with horses, to ride about in the neighbourhood. The horses were strong and bony. The breed does not seem to have been improved by care. Mules bear a greater price than common horses, as subsisting on less food, and capable of more labour. Many of the horses were spotted as regularly as a leopard. Such were so common, as to remove the suspicion of any fraud by artificial colouring. The race of those spotted horses is supposed, among other means, to be obtained by crossing those of opposite hues. The saddle furniture differed as much from the neatness of what

is made in England, as the cattle themselves from Arabian coursers. The English riders met several Chinese on horseback, who, on approaching, alighted in civility to the strangers. This is a mark of respect shewn here always to superiors, and the custom has been extended to other parts of the East. The Dutch governor and counsellors of the Indies exact, in imitation, that kind of homage from all persons resident in Batavia. It appeared indeed, from several instances, in Java, Sumatra, and Cochin-China, that China gives the *tone* to the countries bordering on the Chinese seas. The distinction of yellow colour, for example, by the Emperor, is affected by every sovereign in the eastern part of Asia.

The mixture of Eastern and Western customs, is to be seen sometimes in China. Thus in the neighbourhood of Tong-choo-foo, the season of the harvest gave occasion to observe, that the corn is sometimes thrashed with the common flail of Europe, and sometimes pressed out by cattle treading on the sheaf, as is described by Oriental writers. A roller is likewise moved over it by the Chinese. For these operations a platform of hard earth and sand is prepared in the open air. A machine has been always used here for winnowing corn, exactly similar to that which has

been introduced, within this century, it is said, in Europe. It is probably a Chinese invention.

Indian corn and small millet formed, in this place, the principal produce of the autumn crop. There were few inclosures, and few cattle to make them necessary. Scarcely any fields to be seen in pasture. The animals necessary for tillage, or for carriage, and those destined to serve for food, were mostly fed in stalls, and fodder was collected for them. Beans, and the finer kind of straw cut small, composed a great proportion of the food for horses. The roots of corn, and coarser stems, are frequently left to rot upon the ground for the purpose of manure.

The houses of the peasants were scattered about, instead of being united into villages. The cottages seemed to be clean and comfortable. They were without fences, gates, or other apparent precaution against wild beasts or thieves. Robbery is said to happen seldom, tho not punished by death, unless aggravated by the commission of some violent assault. The wives of the peasantry are of material assistance to their families, in addition to the rearing of their children, and the care of their domestic concerns; for they carry on most of the trades which can be exercised within doors. Not only they rear silk-

worms, and spin the cotton, which last is in general use for both sexes of the people; but the women are almost the sole weavers throughout the empire. Yet few of them fail to injure their healths, or at least their active powers, by sacrificing, in imitation of females of superior rank, to the prejudice in favour of little feet; and tho the operation for this purpose is not attempted at so early a period of their infancy, or followed up afterwards with such persevering care, as in the case of ladies with whom beauty can become an object of more attention, enough is practised to cripple and disfigure them.

Notwithstanding all the merit of these helpmates to their husbands, the latter arrogate an extraordinary dominion over them, and hold them at such a distance, as not always to allow them to sit at table, behind which, in such case, they attend as handmaids. This dominion is tempered, indeed, by the maxims of mild conduct in the different relations of life, inculcated from early childhood amongst the lowest as well as highest classes of society. The old persons of a family live generally with the young. The former serve to moderate any occasional impetuosity, violence, or passion of the latter. The influence of age over youth is supported by the

sentiments of nature, by the habit of obedience, by the precepts of morality ingrafted in the law of the land, and by the unremitted policy and honest arts of parents to that effect. They who are past labour, deal out the rules which they had learned, and the wisdom which experience taught them, to those who are rising to manhood, or to those lately arrived at it. Plain sentences of morals are written up in the common hall, where the male branches of the family assemble. Some one, at least, is capable of reading them to the rest. In almost every house is hung up a tablet of the ancestors of the persons then residing in it. References are often made, in conversation, to their actions. Their example, as far as it was good, serves as an incitement to travel in the same path. The descendants from a common stock, visit the tombs of their forefathers together, at stated times. This joint care, and indeed other occasions, collect and unite the most remote relations. They cannot lose sight of each other; and seldom become indifferent to their respective concerns. The child is bound to labour and to provide for his parents' maintenance and comfort, and the brother for the brother and sister that are in extreme want; the failure of which duty would be followed by such detestation, that it is not

necessary to enforce it by positive law. Even the most distant kinsman, reduced to misery by accident or ill health, has a claim on his kindred for relief. Manners, stronger far than laws, and indeed inclination, produced and nurtured by intercourse and intimacy, secure assistance for him. These habits and manners fully explain the fact already mentioned, which unhappily appears extraordinary to Europeans, that no spectacles of distress are seen, to excite the compassion, and implore the casual charity, of individuals. It is to be added, that this circumstance is not owing to the number of institutions of public benevolence. The wish, indeed, of the Persian monarch is not realized in China, that none should be in want of the succour administered in hospitals; but those establishments are rendered little necessary, where the link which unites all the branches of a family, brings aid to the suffering part of it without delay, and without humiliation.

It seldom, indeed, happens that the infirmities of adults, or the weakness of children, render them utterly incapable of making some return of industry for the subsistence they receive. In the manufactures carried on within doors, very material assistance may often be afforded, with little

exertion of strength; and abroad, the soil is light, and tillage easy. Oxen are used for ploughing in this part of China, being too cold for buffaloes, which are preferred where they can be reared. Cattle are yoked by the neck, instead of being so by the horns, as upon the continent of Europe.

Several of the labouring men of Tong-choo-foo were engaged to convey to Hoong-ya-yuen, close to the Emperor's autumnal palace beyond Pekin, the presents and the baggage of the Embassy. The weight of all those articles had been hitherto of little consideration, as they had come by sea, or upon a river. They were now to be carried by animal or human labour. Such of the presents as were liable to be injured by the rough movement of carriages without springs, were to be entrusted to men only. Some of the gentlemen belonging to the Embassy had calculated their baggage more for a sea voyage, than for land carriage. Preparing for a distant country, where they had not been before, it happened to them to provide some articles which were to be found in it, and others, which they foresaw the possibility of wanting, but which they never came to want. Upon a calculation of the necessary means for conveying all the baggage and presents, the mandarines were obliged to order near ninety small

waggons, forty hand-carts or barrows, upwards of two hundred horses, and within a very few of three thousand labouring men, to serve in different capacities; beside what of all kinds was necessary for themselves, and their atttendants.

Bulky and heavy articles are carried by the mere strength of men, applied in the following manner. Two strong bamboos are fastened to the sides of the load. If two men to each bamboo, being four to the whole load, should not be sufficient, two shorter bamboos are fixed to the extremities of each of the original long ones. The eight extremities of the short bamboos are made to rest on the shoulders of eight men. And by bamboos fastened upon others, the strength of more men may be applied in a geometrical proportion, each sustaining an equal degree of pressure in raising and carrying very considerable weights.

The Embassador and three gentlemen of his suite travelled in sedan chairs, which are the usual vehicles for persons of high rank in China, even in long journies. The other gentlemen were on horseback, as were all the mandarines; the principal among the latter rode near the chair of the Embassador. The Chinese soldiers were on foot, and cleared the way. The servants and

privates of his Excellency's guard were in rough carriages or waggons. The chairs, the wheel-carriages, the horsemen, the presents, and the baggage, filled up the road for a considerable space. This road forms a magnificent avenue to Pekin, for persons and commodities bound for that capital from the east and from the south. It is perfectly level; the centre, to the width of about twenty feet, is paved with flags of granite, brought from a considerable distance, and of a size from six to sixteen feet in length, and about four feet broad. On each side of this granite pavement was a road unpaved, wide enough for carriages to cross upon it. The road was bordered in many places with trees, particularly willows of a very uncommon girth.

The travellers soon passed over a marble bridge, of which the construction appeared equal to the material. The perfection of such a fabric may be considered to consist in its being made as like as possible to that of which it supplies the want; and the present bridge seems to answer that description; for it is very wide and substantially built, over a rivulet not subject to inundations, and is little elevated above the level of the roads which it connects together.

In pursuing the journey some of the privates

of the guard grew tired at being immured in waggons moving in slow procession; and alighting, continued their route on foot. They thus afforded opportunities to the crowds waiting to see the strangers, to examine their figures, countenances, and dresses. Their ruddy complexions, powdered hair, and clothes shewing the form of the limbs, drew particular attention. The weather was extremely sultry; Fahrenheit's thermometer was at ninety-six degrees in the covered carriages. They who walked were sometimes perceived to suffer from the dust, the fatigue, the sun, and the press of people round them. Several of the spectators felt for their situation, and opened a way for them to enjoy the air. To a few of the light and ignorant they were a subject of sport.

A halt was made to breakfast at a village on the road. The inn at which they stopped bore no resemblance to the modern edifices of that kind in England. Little elegance was aimed at; few decorations were perceived; but the rooms, tho small, were clean and cool. Every sort of refreshment was provided. From this place, if not before, the mind was at every step in anxious expectation of discovering that capital, which was said to be the greatest in the world. No gentlemen's houses

scattered round, no small villas announced to the party that they should see it presently. They arrived, at length, at one of the eastern suburbs. The street through which they passed was paved, and full of people. It exhibited a busy scene of manufacturers, shopkeepers, and buyers. The concourse of people did not so much appear to have been collected for the expected sight, as that each person was employed in his occupation; and tho diverted for a while by the passing spectacle, returned afterwards to his own concerns. To traverse this suburb took about fifteen minutes, when the party arrived before the walls of the city of Pekin. The arrival of the Embassador was announced by the firing of guns; and refreshments were made ready for all the gentlemen, at a resting place within the gate. Near it the walls were faced with stone, elsewhere with brick. Over the gate was a watch tower several stories high. In each story were port-holes for cannon, painted, as sometimes on the sides of merchant vessels which have none. Round the gate, on the outside, was a semicircular wall, with a lateral gate, upon the plan of European fortifications, which may be a modern addition. The city walls were about forty feet in height. The parapet was deeply crenated,

but had no regular embrazures; nor did any cannon appear upon the walls; but in the merlons were loopholes for archery. The thickness of the walls was at the base about twenty feet, and twelve across the terrepleine, upon which the parapet was erected. The outside of the city wall, though not perfectly perpendicular, was smooth, but the inside was upon a considerable bevil; the rows of bricks which form it being placed, like steps, one above and behind the other, such as are described to be the faces of the Egyptian pyramids. The walls were flanked on the outside by square towers, at about sixty yards distance from each other, and projecting from the curtain between them forty or fifty feet. Several horsemen were able to ride abreast upon the ramparts, ascending to them upon slopes of earth raised on the inside.

Pekin exhibited, on the entrance into it, an appearance contrary to that of European cities, in which the streets are often so narrow, and the houses so lofty, that from one extremity of a street the houses appear at the other to be leaning towards, and closing upon, each other. Here few of the houses were higher than one story; none more than two; while the width of the

street which divided them was considerably above one hundred feet. It was airy, gay, and light-some.

The street was unpaved, and water sprinkled on it to keep down the dust. A light handsome building was erected across it, called by the Chinese *Pai-loo*, which word has been translated to mean a triumphal arch, tho nothing like an arch is in any part of it. The whole was built of wood, and consisted of three handsome gateways, of which the middle is the highest and largest. Over these were constructed three roofs above each other, richly decorated. Large characters painted or gilt upon the uprights and the transoms, indicated the purpose for which the Pai-loo was erected. They are meant to compliment particular persons, or to perpetuate the memory of some interesting event.

The first street extended on a line directly to the westward, until it was interrupted by the eastern wall of the Imperial palace, called the Yellow wall, from the colour of the small roof of varnished tiles with which the top of it is covered. Various public buildings seen at the same time, and considered as belonging to the Emperor, were covered in the same manner. Those roofs,

uninterrupted by chimnies, and indented in the sides and ridges into gentle concave curves, with an effect more pleasing than would be produced by long straight lines, were adorned with a variety of figures, either in imitation of real objects, or more commonly as mere works of fancy; the whole shining like gold under a brilliant sun, immediately caught the eye with an appearance of grandeur in that part of buildings where it was not accustomed to be sought for. Immense magazines of rice were seen near the gate. And looking from it to the left, along the city wall, was perceived an elevated edifice, described as an observatory, erected, in the former dynasty by the Emperor Yong-loo, to whom the chief embellishments of Pekin are said to be owing.

In front of most of the houses in this main street were shops painted, gilt, and decorated like those of Tong-choo-foo, but in a grander style. Over some of them were broad terraces, covered with shrubs and flowers. Before the doors several lanterns were hung, of horn, muslin, silk, and paper, fixed to frames, in varying the form of which, the Chinese seemed to have exercised their fancy to the utmost. Outside the

shops, as well as within them, was displayed a variety of goods for sale.

Several circumstances, independently of the arrival of strangers, contributed to throng so wide a street. A procession was moving towards the gate, in which the white or bridal colour, according to European ideas, of the persons who formed it, seemed at first to announce a marriage ceremony; but the appearance of young men overwhelmed with grief shewed it to be a funeral, much more indeed than the corse itself, which was contained in a handsome square case, shaded with a canopy, painted with gay and lively colours, and preceded by standards of variegated silks. Behind it were sedan chairs covered with white cloth, containing the female relations of the deceased: the white colour, denoting in China the affliction of those who wear it, is sedulously avoided by such as wish to manifest sentiments of a contrary nature. It is therefore never seen in the ceremony of nuptials (met soon afterwards), where the lady (as yet unseen by the bridegroom) is carried in a gilt and gaudy chair, hung round with festoons of artificial flowers, and followed by relations, attendants, and servants, bearing the paraphernalia, being the only portion given with

a daughter, in marriage, by her parents. The crowd was not a little increased by the mandarines of rank, appearing always with numerous attendants; and still more by circles of the populace round auctioneers, venders of medicines, fortune-tellers, singers, jugglers, and story-tellers, beguiling their hearers of a few of their chen, or copper money, intended probably for other purposes. Among the stories that caught, at this moment, the imagination of the people, the arrival of the Embassy was said to furnish no inconsiderable share. The presents brought by it to the Emperor were asserted to include whatever was rare in other countries, or not known before to the Chinese. Of the animals that were brought it was gravely mentioned, that there was an elephant of the size of a monkey, and as fierce as a lion; and a cock that fed on charcoal. Every thing was supposed to vary from what had been seen in Pekin before, and to possess qualities different from what had been there experienced in the same substances. The sight of the strangers bringing such extraordinary curiosities disturbed, as they passed along, the several occupations of the people. They pressed forwards in great numbers. Chinese soldiers who were em-

ployed like constables, to keep them off, used long whips, with which they seemed to aim at the foremost rank; but with a mildness, which disposition and the long habit of authority that takes, sometimes, away from any enjoyment in exerting it, had inspired. They generally, in fact, only struck the ground.

As soon as the persons belonging to the Embassy had arrived at the eastern side of the yellow wall, they turned along it to the right, and found on its northern side much less bustle than in the former street. Instead of shops all were private houses, not conspicuous in the front. Before each house was a wall or curtain, to prevent passengers from seeing the court into which the street door opened. This wall is called the wall of *respect*. A halt was made opposite the treble gates, which are nearly in the centre of this northern side of the palace wall. It appeared to inclose a large quantity of ground. It was not level like all the lands without the wall; some of it was raised into hills of steep ascent; the earth taken to form them left broad and deep hollows, now filled with water. Out of these artificial lakes, of which the margins were diversified and irregular, small islands rose with a variety of

fanciful edifices, interspersed with trees. On the hills of different heights the principal palaces for the Emperor were erected. The whole had somewhat the appearance of enchantment. On the summit of the highest eminences were lofty trees surrounding summer-houses, and cabinets contrived for retreat and pleasure. One of these was pointed out as the last shocking scene of the existence of that race of emperors who had built and beautified the whole of this magnificent palace. A man, whom fortune seemed for a while to favour, as if destined to become the head of a new dynasty in China, availed himself, towards the middle of the last century, of the weakness and luxury of the court, and of that indolence which, more than even luxury, had brought the former dynasties to ruin; with an army of Chinese, first collected under the hope of bringing about better times, and kept together afterwards by the tempting bait of plunder, he marched to the gates of Pekin. The ill-fated monarch, too slightly supported, and possessed of too little energy to resist; but endowed with sentiments too elevated to brook submission to an enemy who had been his subject, and determined to save his offspring from the danger of dishonour, stabbed his

only daughter, and put an end to his own life with a cord, in one of those edifices above mentioned, which had been erected for far other purposes.

From the spot, whence an opportunity thus offered to take a glance, through the gates of the palace wall, of part of what was inclosed within it, the eye, turning to the north, observed through a street extending to the city wall, the great fabric, of considerable height, which includes a bell of prodigious size and cylindric form, that, struck on the outside with a wooden mallet, emits a sound distinctly heard throughout the capital. Beyond it, but more to the westward, was one of the northern gates, the watch-tower over which rendered it visible above the intermediate buildings. Proceeding on beyond the palace gates directly to the westward, between the Yellow wall, and the northern buildings of the city, is a lake of some acres in extent, now, in autumn, almost entirely overspread with the peltated leaf of the *nymphæa nelumbo*, or *lien-wha* of the Chinese. The leaf of this plant, beside the other uses for which nature had intended that part of vegetables, has from its structure, growing entirely round the stalk, the advantage of defending the flower and fruit growing from its centre, from any contact with the water, which might injure them.

The root of the lien-wha, furnishes a stem which never fails to ascend in the water from whatever depth, unless in case of a sudden inundation, until it attains the surface, where its leaf expands, rests, and swims upon it, and sometimes rises above it. This plant which bears the rigorous cold of the Pekin winter, is with difficulty reared in European stoves. Its flowers are as beautiful and fragrant as the seed is grateful to the taste.

The route was continued westerly through the city. The dwelling-house of some Russians was pointed out; and what was more singular, a library of foreign manuscripts, one of which was said to be an Arabic copy of the Koran. Mahometans were seen, distinguished by red caps. Among the spectators of the novel sight, several women were observed. The greatest number were said to be natives of Tartary, or of a Tartar race. Their feet were not cramped, like those of the Chinese; and their shoes with broad toes, and soles above an inch in thickness, were as clumsy as those of the original Chinese ladies were diminutive. A few of the former were well dressed, with delicate features, and their complexions heightened with the aid of art. A thick patch of vermilion on the middle of the lower lip seemed to be a favourite mode of using paint.

Some of them were sitting in covered carriages, of which, as well as of horses, there are several to be found for hire in various parts of the town. A few of the Tartar ladies were on horseback, and rode astride, like men. Tradesmen with their tools, searching for employment, and pedlars offering their wares for sale, were every where to be seen. Several of the streets were narrow, and at the entrance of them gates were erected, near which guards were stationed, it was said, to quell any occasional disturbance in the neighbourhood. Those gates are shut at night, and opened only in cases of exigence. The train of the Embassy crossed a street which extended north and south, the whole length of the Tartar city, almost four miles, and is interrupted only by several pai-loos, or triumphal fabrics; and passing by many temples and other capacious buildings and magazines, they reached, in little more than two hours from their entrance on the eastern side, to one of the western city gates. Near this gate and along the outside of the western wall, ran the small rivulet (here widened into a considerable ditch) which after almost surrounding Pekin, runs towards Tong-choo-foo, and falls into the Pei-ho. The suburb beginning at this western

gate, being more extensive than that thro which they had entered into the city, took to traverse it upwards of twenty minutes.

The gentlemen of the Embassy stopped at the extremity of the suburb, to communicate to each other the impressions that remained upon their minds, after passing thro Pekin. They were indeed aware, that so slight a glimpse did but little qualify them to form a judgment of it; but what they had seen, except in relation to the Imperial palace, did not come up to the idea they previously had formed of the capital of China; and they imagined that a Chinese, could he be impartial, would feel a greater gratification in the sight of the ships, the bridges, the squares, several of the public buildings, and the display of wealth in the capital of Great Britain.

The Embassy found, in proceeding north-west from Pekin, the same kind of granite pavement over which they had travelled to that city from Tong-choo-foo. It led them to the open town of Hai-tien; containing few other buildings than those intended for the sale of goods, and for the accommodation of artificers, near the autumnal palace of Yuen-min-yuen, which lies a little way beyond it. Here was the residence of

some Italian missionaries, who were employed as artists by the court, and probably on that account placed near it. The shops of Hai-tien, in addition to necessaries, abounded in toys and trifles, calculated to amuse the rich and idle of bothsexes, even to cages containing insects, such as the noisy cicada, and a large species of the gryllus.

Between Hai-tien and Yuen-min-yuen, was the villa intended for the Embassador and his suite; which was an inclosure of, at least, twelve acres. It contained a garden laid out in serpentine walks, a rivulet winding round an island, a grove of various trees interspersed with patches of grass ground, and diversified with artificial inequalities, and rocks rudely heaped upon each other. The buildings in this place consisted of several separate pavilions, erected round small courts. The apartments were handsome, and not ill contrived. Several of them were adorned with landscapes, painted in water-colours. The objects appeared to be correctly drawn; nor were the rules of perspective unattended to; but what instantly shewed them to be the works of Chinese artists, was the total neglect of light and shade. A lake was represented, with trees and houses near it, almost on every side; but a Chinese would consider it as a blemish, to render the

shadow of any of those objects perceptible on the water. This place had been inhabited by embassadors from foreign courts, or mandarines of rank from the distant provinces, while the emperor was at the adjoining palace; but had been now empty for some time, and wanted repairs.

Between the governor of that palace and the Embassador, compliments of civility were immediately interchanged; and the former desired to take the opinion of the latter, as to the most advantageous distribution of the presents intended to be left there. Upon his Excellency's view of the palace, it was decided that the principal articles should be placed on each side of the throne, in one of the halls of audience. The outside of this hall had a magnificent appearance. The approach to it was thro three quadrangular courts, surrounded by buildings, separated from each other. It was erected upon a platform of granite, raised about four feet above the level of the court before it. Its projecting roof was supported upon two rows of large wooden columns, the shafts of which were painted red, and varnished; and the capitals ornamented with various scrolls and devices, in vivid colouring, particularly with dragons, whose feet were armed with five claws each. Dragons may be marked

on the edifices and furniture of the princes of the Emperor's court, but with four claws only to their feet; the fifth is reserved for his Imperial Majesty alone. A net of gilt wire, scarcely perceptible, is spread over the whole entablature of the building, to prevent birds from resting upon any of the projecting points, of which a great number are brought out in a regular order. The hall exceeds, in the inside, one hundred feet in length; in breadth it is upwards of forty, and in height above twenty feet. Between the inner row of columns on the southern side were pannels, the whole, or any part of which, might be kept open, or shut, at pleasure.

This spacious and lightsome hall was well calculated to display the presents; nothing being left in it besides the throne, a few great jars of ancient porcelain, and a musical clock, playing twelve old English tunes, and made, as was marked upon it, in the beginning of this century, by *George Clarke Leadenhall-street, London.*

The throne was placed in a recess. A few steps ascended to it in front, and others on each side. It was not rich nor gaudy. Over it were the Chinese characters of glory and perfection. On each side were tripods, and vessels of incense. Before it was a small table, almost to be called

an altar, for offerings of tea and fruit to the spirit of the absent Emperor. It happened to be a day of sacrifice, being the time of the full moon, which is a religious festival with the followers of Fo. Among the many names belonging to his Imperial Majesty in his sovereign capacity, is one, which not merely coincides in sound with that by which the Deity is sometimes known in China; but the composition of the Chinese written character, denoting both, and which always is supposed to bear some allusion to the object intended to be conveyed by it, is the same precisely. This circumstance must have been, no doubt, occasioned by a partial consideration of the attribute of power, which, as applied to the moral state and condition of man in China, resides, almost entirely, in the person of the sovereign. The rest of the world is, in the contemplation of a vast multitude of his subjects, of little significance; and they consider his dominion, as virtually extending over the whole. With these ideas, they scarcely can distinguish the relations or duties of other nations or individuals towards him, from their own, which are, indeed, unbounded. If they sacrifice to him in his absence, it is not surprising that they should adore him present. The *Ko-teou*, or adoration, as the Chi-

nese word expresses it, consists in nine solemn prostrations of the body, the forehead striking the floor each time. It is difficult to imagine an exterior mark of more profound humility and submission, or which implies a more intimate consciousness of the omnipotence of that being towards whom it is made.

These prosternations are expected, as well from strangers, as from the subjects and vassals of the empire; and the Legate began now to press the Embassador, what indeed he had signified before, to practice them in his presence before the throne. For this demand, his Excellency was not entirely unprepared; and he had the advantage of the instructions which had been given to him, in general terms, from his Majesty, in relation to requisitions of such a nature. He was well aware of the tenaciousness of the Chinese court in exacting ceremonies, of which the humiliation on the one part contributed, perhaps, to render most embassies so grateful to the other. In this spirit, care had been taken, in consequence, no doubt, of superior orders, to write in large Chinese characters upon the flags pendent from the yachts and land carriages of the Embassy, EMBASSADOR BEARING TRIBUTE FROM THE COUNTRY OF ENGLAND. As it was possible that

the meaning of those characters might not have been mentioned to his Excellency, he did not think himself bound to make a formal complaint about them; especially as a failure of redress, which he had reason to judge by no means impossible, must have put at once a stop to his proceeding; thus giving an abrupt, as well as unsuccessful termination to his mission. These characters had however attracted notice; they were repeated in the court gazette; they would be recorded in the annals of the empire; they would find their way to Europe thro the Russians residing in the capital, and the missionaries who came there from the different countries of the Roman Catholic persuasion. It behoved, therefore, the Embassador to be the more guarded in any act of his own, lest it should be construed as unbecoming the sovereign whom he had the honour to represent. Similar considerations had prevented the Embassador from Russia, in a former reign, from complying with the usual Chinese form of introduction, until a regular pact was made for its return, on a like occasion, to his own sovereign. It has been remarked, that he was the only minister that had hitherto gained any point in negotiations with the Chinese court. The Dutch, who, in the last century, submitted

at once to every ceremony prescribed to them, in the hope of obtaining, in return, some lucrative advantages, complained of being treated with neglect, and of being dismissed without the smallest promise of any favour.

It is said that Holland had been pointed out by some of the missionaries, as a spot upon the general map, bearing a political weight proportioned only to its size. It is possible that the same rule may have been endeavoured to be laid down in regard to England. Such had been the inaccurate, partial, and dubious accounts, which the ministers of China had hitherto received of the real state of the several powers of Europe, that the different degrees of backwardness, on the part of their embassadors, in complying with any claim of arrogated superiority at Pekin, might serve there, in fact, as a sort of scale for judging of their relative importance. Such, on the other hand, is, in these times, the extension of the commerce of Europe, and the frequency of its communications, over the rest of the globe, that nothing can be done, in the most distant countries, by a representative from any of its courts, that is insignificant, or overlooked at any of the others. Nor can it with propriety be supposed, that the substantial welfare of a na-

tion, is unconnected with the character and rank it maintains abroad; but if it were otherwise, there was reason to apprehend, that the disposition of the ministers of the Chinese empire, at that moment, would prevent the immediate return of favours, for any sacrifice of dignity. Beside the prejudices imbibed against the English, from their first appearance on the Chinese coast, and fortified by subsequent misrepresentations, all which it was the object of a diplomatic establishment from the British court gradually to do away, a new and unfavourable impression was made, as already mentioned, upon the occasion of the Thibet war. And, notwithstanding the hospitality with which the present Embassy was treated, and the distinction and even splendour, which accompanied it, there was, especially on the part of almost every Tartar chief, too perceptible a mistrust of its designs, as if they were meant to procure, in the end, some share with the Tartars themselves of the domination over China. The new French principles, no where more detested and dreaded than in China by the members of the government, coming, as well as the Embassy, from the West, was a circumstance which disinclined them from the enlargement of any communication with that quarter of the globe; and

the neighbourhood of France had a tendency to injure England, at a distance from it.

Had none of these adventitious and adverse circumstances, which could not be foreseen or prevented, taken place, yet the advantages that might result from a direct communication between the courts of London and Pekin, were not expected to be sudden. Nothing could really be effectual, but a change, in favour of the English, in the minds of the Chinese government, and of that portion of the public, whose opinions insensibly influence their superiors. Such an operation must indeed be gradual; and yet material to be accomplished, both for the interest of the British territories in Hindostan, and of the British, if not of the whole European, trade with China. The Embassador was not discouraged, as to the ultimate result, by any inauspicious appearance at the outset, however it might affect him personally. It was in the nature of an attempt, for establishing an amicable and useful intercourse, with a suspicious and forbidding court, that the chief difficulties were to be encountered in the beginning. The esteem and confidence of such a court were to be obtained by cultivating its good will, thro the means of proper agents, and by a well judged, courteous, but not

abject, conduct. It was of the utmost consequence that, in this first Embassy, his Majesty's representative should not, in order to ensure a gracious reception for himself, consent to any unqualified act which might be proposed to him, such as should commit the dignity of his sovereign, or the honour of his country, in the eyes of other nations. If, on the contrary, both these were asserted in the first instance, his successors might afterwards, perhaps, without the hazard of improper inferences, comply with the prevalent usages of the country.

The Legate, tho apprised of what had passed in the case of the Russian embassy, had entertained the hope of prevailing over the tractable disposition of the British Embassador to accede to his demands, without annexing any conditions to them. Such success would be no small merit with the ministers of the empire, who, more than the Emperor himself, adhered to this antiquated claim of superiority over other nations. In conjunction with his own efforts, the Legate employed those of the mandarines most intimate with his Excellency. The latter acquitted themselves of this duty with no slight address and insinuation, introducing the subject by remarks upon the different customs of nations, and

the advantage which travellers found in conforming to them, in whatever country they happened to reside; then, passing to the circumstance of the introduction to the Emperor, they mentioned the prostration as a ceremony to be performed of course, in which it might be unpleasant to be aukward, and that therefore it was customary to practise it some time before. They were not a little surprised to hear, what is testified by history, that for such an act done by an European (Timagoras,) in the character of embassador to a powerful Eastern monarch, (of Persia,) he was, on his return amongst his countrymen, (the Athenians,) condemned to die, as having degraded the nation by which he had been deputed; that less condescensions, in modern times, have been strongly reprehended: the actions of men in a public capacity, being deemed not so much their own as the acts of those they represent. Upon this principle, the usual ceremonies practised by subjects, towards their own sovereigns, were not expected from the representatives of foreign powers: there being a necessary and proper distinction to be made between acts of homage and submission, and the voluntary tokens of esteem and friendship.

Upon this delicate occasion, his Excellency

determined to try every method in his power, to gratify the supposed wishes of the Emperor, in this respect, as far as it was possible so to do, without failing in duty towards his own sovereign. He did not, therefore, propose to avoid complying with the ceremony of prostration; but offered to go thro the whole, on a condition which did not render it less personally respectful to the Emperor; yet took away the principal objection that lay to it as an act of homage or dependence in the representative character. The condition, which he offered, was, that a subject of his Imperial Majesty, of rank equal to his own, should perform, before the picture he had with him of his Majesty, dressed in his robes of state, the same ceremonies that the Embassador should be directed to do before the Chinese throne. It was of importance that this proposal should be given in writing, and translated into Chinese accurately, lest it should fail of its effect thro any misrepresentation or mistake. The interpreter of the Embassy, tho a native of China, was utterly unacquainted with the style necessary for the palace; and in writing Latin and Italian, for the many years he had lived at Naples, he had lost the habit of writing the complicated Chinese characters, of which there are not fewer than

eighty thousand. Even the European missionaries at Pekin, in the employment of the court, tho they understand the language, seldom attempt to write, at least any official paper, for doing which they employ a native bred to letters, to whom they signify the purport of what they want to have properly communicated. The Legate, who aimed at obtaining nothing less than an unconditional compliance with his proposition, was disinclined to receive any stipulation in writing from the Embassador, and would offer, or willingly allow of, no assistance for such a purpose. This difficulty might however be surmounted thro the means of the European missionaries. His Excellency therefore urged for permission to be given that these should be allowed to visit him, which he knew they were well inclined to do. It was obvious, how necessary it became that some of them should aid his own interpreter, who sometimes suffered by ill health, to explain for the several gentlemen and others belonging to the Embassy, in the common occurrences of life. Among those missionaries it was likely, in consequence of the recommendatory letters brought to them from their superiors and friends in Italy in favour of the Embassy, that some could be found who would ven-

ture to procure a faithful translation of necessary papers; and perhaps also be able to supply much useful information. After many applications on the part of the Embassador, several of those Europeans were introduced to his Excellency; but in a formal and cautious manner, in presence of the Legate, and having at their head the Portugueze Jesuit, described in the Pekin missionary's letter. This person seemed to feel the importance, which the spiritual character sometimes inspires, increased by his late accession to the dignity of a blue button, which rendered him superior to his colleagues, who only had white ones. He was little qualified, however, to be an interpreter to a British minister, as he neither understood the English language, nor that which is the most generally spoken in modern Europe; but in his conversation with some of his companions, he sufficiently betrayed the adverse temper of his mind, while the missionaries from other countries gave as evident signs of good will and of zeal for the welfare of the Embassy. Even in the desire, which this meeting afforded an opportunity of expressing, that the Embassy might remove to Pekin, where preparations might be made with more convenience, than at Hoong-ya-yuen, for the journey to Zhe-hol, he en-

couraged the Legate in resisting this request, against the united voice of the other Europeans. In the only other interview which the Embassador could have with this Portugueze, his Excellency endeavoured to reconcile him to the interest of the British nation. He changed, indeed his tone, and gave assurance of his service, as did for him some very worthy persons of his country; but his Excellency's own interpreter was afterwards preferred by the Chinese, as his method of speaking the language, being a native, was more agreeable to them than the foreign accent of an European missionary. The latter made a merit with the Embassador, of persuading the Legate to write to the Emperor to know his pleasure, on the application made by his Excellency to remove to Pekin, without which, he asserted, such a measure could not be undertaken; but the governor of the palace of Yuen-min-yuen, who was in rank and power superior to the Legate, interfered on this occasion; and the removal to the capital took effect immediately. At Pekin, the whole of the Embassy was lodged in a spacious hôtel, or palace, consisting of several buildings, erected by a former collector of revenues and customs of Canton, out of his extortions, it was said, from the English trade, and confiscated to

the crown, in consequence of extortions upon the natives in another office nearer to the capital.

This palace was built on the general model of the dwellings of great mandarines. The whole inclosure was in the form of a parallelogram, and surrounded by a high brick wall; the outside of which exhibited a plain blank surface, except near one of its angles, where a gateway opened into a narrow street, little promising the handsome structures within side. This wall, in its whole length, supported the upper ridge of roofs, whose lower edges, resting upon an interior wall parallel to the other, formed a long range of buildings, divided into apartments for servants and offices. The rest of the inclosure was subdivided into several quadrangular courts of different dimensions. In each quadrangle were buildings erected upon platforms of granite, and surrounded by a colonnade. The columns were of wood, nearly sixteen feet in height, and as many inches in diameter at the lower end, decreasing to the upper extremity above one sixth. They had neither capital nor base, according to the strict meaning of those terms, in the orders of Grecian architecture, nor any divisions of the space called the entablature, which is plain to the

very top that supports the cornice. They were without any swell at the lower end, where they were let into hollows cut into stones for their reception, and which formed a circular ring around each, somewhat in the Tuscan manner. Between the columns, for about one fourth of the length of the shaft from the cornice downwards, was carved and ornamented wood-work, which might be termed the entablature, and was of a different colour from the columns, which were universally red. This colonnade served to support that part of the roof which projected beyond the wall-plate, in a curve, turning up at the angles. By means of such roofed colonnades, every part of those extensive buildings might be visited under cover. The number of pillars throughout the whole, was not fewer than six hundred.

Annexed to the principal apartment, now destined for the Embassador, was an elevated building, intended for the purposes of a private theatre, and concert room, with retiring apartments behind, and a gallery for spectators round it.

None of the buildings were above one story, except that which served for the ladies' apartment during the residence of the owner. It was situate in the inmost quadrangle. The front consisted of one long and lofty hall, with windows of

Corea paper, thro which no object could be distinguished on the other side. On the back of this hall was carried a gallery, at the height of about ten feet, which led to several small rooms, lighted only from the hall. Those inner windows were of silk gauze, stretched on frames of wood, and worked with the needle in flowers, fruit, birds, and insects. Others were painted in water colours. This apartment was fitted in a neater style, tho upon a smaller scale, than most of the others. To this part of the building was a small back court with offices, the whole calculated for privacy.

In one of the outer quadrangles was a piece of water, in the midst of which a stone room was built, exactly in the shape of one of the covered barges of the country. In others of the quadrangles were planted trees; and in the largest, a huge heap of rocks was rudely piled, but firmly fixed, upon each other; and at one end was a spot laid out for a garden in miniature; but it did not appear to have been finished. The late possessor of this palace enjoyed, it seems, but little, the fruit of his iniquities; and was at this time under sentence of execution in expiation of his offences.

At this place an opportunity offered, imme-

diately, of seeing one of the Pekin missionaries; and he, being well disposed towards the Embassy, was very willing to supply the translator that was wanted; and accordingly, he presented a Chinese Christian, usually employed by him, and perfectly qualified for this office; but such was the habitual fear impressed on the natives of China of affording the smallest ground of offence to persons in authority, or of being found meddling in any supposed matter of state, and such this man's particular dread of incurring the displeasure of the Legate, if his hand-writing should be discovered, that he could not be persuaded to let it go abroad. It was also a fact well known, that a native of Canton had been formerly put to death for writing, there, a petition in Chinese for the English. The difficulty was however overcome by means of the youth formerly mentioned as page to the Embassador, and who had acquired an uncommon facility in copying the Chinese character, beside having made progress enough in the language to serve sometimes as interpreter; and it was necessary to have recourse to him for copying out every subsequent paper that there was occasion to present in the Chinese language. The process for this purpose was somewhat tedious. The English paper was first translated

into Latin by Mr. Hütner, for the use of the Embassador's Chinese interpreter, who did not understand the original. The interpreter explained, verbally, the meaning of the Latin into the familiar language of Chinese conversation, which the new translator transferred into the proper style of official papers. The page immediately copied this translation, fair; when the original rough draught was, for the satisfaction of the translator, destroyed in his presence.

His Excellency's memorial was addressed to Ho-choong-taung Colao, first minister of the empire, and represented that "his Majesty the "King of Great Britain in sending an Embassy "to his Majesty the Emperor of China, fully "intended to give the strongest testimony of "particular esteem and veneration for his Im-"perial Majesty; that the Embassador entrusted "to convey such sentiments was earnestly de-"sirous of fulfilling that object of his mission "with zeal and effect; that he was ready like-"wise to conform to every exterior ceremony "practised by his Imperial Majesty's subjects, "and the tributary princes attending at his "court, not only to avoid the confusion of no-"velty, but in order to shew, by his example on "behalf of one of the greatest as well as most

distant nations on the globe, the high and just "sense universally entertained of his Imperial "Majesty's dignity and transcendent virtues; "that the Embassador had determined to act in "that manner without hesitation or difficulty, "on this condition only, of which he flattered "himself his Imperial Majesty would imme- "diately perceive the necessity; and have the "goodness to accede to it, by giving such direc- "tions as should be the means of preventing the "Embassador from suffering by his devotion to "his Imperial Majesty in this instance; for the "Embassador should certainly suffer heavily if "his conduct on this occasion, could be construed "as in any wise unbecoming the great and exalted "rank which his master, whom he represented, "held among the independent sovereigns of the "world; that this danger could be easily avoid- "ed, and the satisfaction be general on all sides, "by his Imperial Majesty's order that one of "the officers of his court, equal with the Em- "bassador in rank, should perform before his "Britannic Majesty's picture at large, in his "royal robes, and then in the Embassador's pos- "session at Pekin, the same ceremonies which "should be performed by the Embassador before "the throne of his Imperial Majesty."

This paper was properly addressed, and delivered to the Legate, who promised to forward it immediately. He seemed to approve of its contents. Of the Emperor's acquiescence in the proposal neither the missionary nor the principal Chinese who were acquainted with it entertained the smallest doubt. The return, in fact, of the ceremony required from one of his Imperial Majesty's subjects might be made in a private room, without parade, and would scarcely be known or mentioned in the empire: but the prostrations of the Embassador were to be performed on a solemn festival, in presence of all the tributary princes and great subjects of the state, and would be described in the gazettes published by authority.

In this persuasion, preparations were made immediately for the journey to the Emperor's presence. The articles to be carried into Tartary were brought from Hoong-ya-yuen to Pekin, as well as the baggage of the Embassy. Among the former were six small brass field-pieces, remarkably well cast, of an elegant form, and fixed on light carriages. They had been lately tried for the purpose of exercising the artillery-men of the guard appointed to this service, in order to be prepared to exhibit before his Imperial Majesty.

They fired each several times in a minute. So much celerity in military manœuvres on the part of foreigners was not relished by the Legate, who was present. He affected to say that as much could be done in the Imperial army; and he, who had expressed himself, before, so anxious that all the presents should accompany the Embassador to Zhe-hol, was of opinion now that the field-pieces should be left behind, as the Emperor was to return soon to Pekin. The gunpowder also, of which as many small barrels were among the baggage of the Embassy as was foreseen might occasionally be used in salutes, and in exercising the field-pieces, as well as the musquetry of the guard, was become an object of suspicion with him. He desired it to be delivered up. It was so instantaneously, as a matter of indifference. His whole conduct seemed to indicate a mind agitated with apprehension lest the Chinese should begin to entertain a higher idea of the prowess of the English nation than of his own. The former, indeed, very cordially admired a vast variety of articles either brought for presents, or destined for the use of the several persons of the Embassy, and which were displayed both to gratify the curiosity of the natives, and with a view to spread a taste for British manufactures.

Most of the utensils in common use in England were, indeed, likewise used and made in China; but they were inferior, generally, in quality and neatness. English hardware was eagerly sought after: and whenever in the course of time the East India Company's ships shall have free access to the port of Tien-sing, the demand for the manufactures of Bermingham and Sheffield will be very much enlarged, for the supply of Pekin alone.

This capital bears not in size the same proportion to the rest of China, that London does to Britain. The principal part of it is called the Tartar city, from the circumstance of having been laid out anew in the thirteenth century, in the time of the first Tartar dynasty. It was in the form of a parallelogram, of which the four walls face the four cardinal points. They include an area of about fourteen square miles, in the centre of which is the Imperial palace, occupying within the yellow wall at least one square mile. The whole is about one third larger than London on its present extended scale; whereas the fifteen ancient provinces of China, independently of the vast accession of territory from the great wall to the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea, bear a proportion to Great Britain of about fifteen to one. Adjoining, indeed, to the southern wall of

the Tartar city is another called, by way of distinction, the Chinese city. Here most of the people lodge who come occasionally upon business from the provinces to the capital. Its walls, which are greatly in decay, include likewise a very considerable space, about nine square miles, A small part only, however, is occupied by buildings, which are indifferent, crowded, and irregular. The rest is empty, and a part of it in cultivation. Within this compass has been raised the *Sien-nong-tan*, or *eminence of venerable agriculturists*. Thither the Emperor repairs every spring, and in compliance with ancient usages, goes through the ceremony of directing with his own hand the plough, through a small field, by way of doing honour to the profession of the husbandman. After his Majesty has directed that instrument for about an hour, a group of peasants chanting, at the same time, round him hymns in praise of husbandry, the princes of his court and great officers of state, following his example, and taking the plough by turns, make several furrows in his presence. They are all, as well as the Emperor himself, clothed in the garb befitting their new occupation. The produce of the ground thus ploughed is carefully collected, and solemnly announced to surpass, in quality and

quantity, what any other spot of equal dimensions had yielded in the year. The celebration of this exemplary festival, as it justly may be termed, is made known in the remotest village of the empire. It is meant to gratify even to the humblest cottager, and to be some consolation to him, in the disappointments which the vicissitudes of the season frequently occasion, when he recollects that his calling has been dignified in being adopted by his sovereign; who is thus incorporated in the most numerous and useful class among his subjects, and seems to acquire a common interest with them.

Within the walls, likewise, of the Chinese city has been erected the *Tien-tan*, or *eminence of heaven*. The single character *tien*, or heaven, is inscribed upon the principal building on this eminence. Its form is round, in allusion to the vault of the heavenly firmament, as it strikes the eye; in like manner as the *Tee-tan*, or temple dedicated to the earth, which the ancient Chinese supposed to be a perfect square, is of a square form. In the summer solstice, when the heat and power of the sun is at the highest, the Emperor comes in solemn procession to pay obedience, and offer thanks for its benign influence; and in the winter solstice similar cere-

monies are performed in the temple of the earth. In neither is any personification. Some, at least, of the lawgivers of China proceeded, however, from the contemplation of material existence, to a first cause, to which they gave a name; while others added sacrifices of slaughtered animals, as to a being susceptible of being gratified by the destruction of the life it gave.

This solemn adoration of heaven and earth is confined to the person of the Emperor; and for his convenience is performed at Pekin, where he likewise appears abroad in a variety of other grand processions, suggested by the mixed views of policy and religion. There are scarcely any other public spectacles in that city; and they are sometimes compared to the religious ceremonies, or *fonzioni* of his Holiness at Rome.

In other respects few of the circumstances take place in the metropolis of China which contribute to the aggrandizement of other capitals.

Pekin is merely the seat of the government of the empire. It is not a port. It is not a place of inland trade, nor manufacture. No representative diet, or general states, with numerous retainers, assemble there to assist, or check, or examine, the measures of the crown. It forms no rendezvous for pleasure and dissipation. The

chief cities of Europe owe much of their opulence, size, and population to the afflux of those persons, who, by the gift of their progenitors, or by the favour of the prince, possess wealth without labour; and seek, in the concourse of multitudes, for opportunities to enjoy it to the most advantage. They draw with them the principal net revenues of the country. Removed from the anxiety of procuring subsistence, free from the passions of avarice or ambition, disengaged, in great measure, from the cares of life, and not distracted by the uncertainties which attend all enterprize, they constitute the most agreeable and best informed part of the community, where they are. Many of the improvements, and some of the greatest inventions in European sciences, have been the fruits of their leisure. Among them are chiefly to be found those pure and elevated sentiments, and those refined manners which distinguish the character of a gentleman. But except in instruction they are of little benefit to the other orders of mankind, upon whose industry they subsist. This class, including the rich and idle among the nobility and gentry, is, in every part of Europe, numerous. Their families, their servants, they who administer to their multiplied wants and various amusements,

contribute much to swell the metropolis of every European kingdom. But Pekin owes little of its extent or populousness to circumstances of the same nature. Most men there have their stations regularly allotted to them, or are occupied in attending or providing for those who have. Except, perhaps, some of the relations of the Emperor, few indeed are those whose only business there is the pursuit of pleasure, and the consumption of that time which others are under the necessity of employing in the performance of some public duty, or in the private care of living.

In China there is less inequality in the fortunes, than in the conditions, of men. The ancient annals of the empire testify that, for a long period of time, the earth, like the other elements of nature, was enjoyed by its inhabitants almost in common. Their country was divided into small equal districts; every district was cultivated conjointly by eight labouring families, which composed each hamlet; and they enjoyed all the profit of their labours, except a certain share of the produce reserved for public expences. It was true, indeed, that after a revolution, deplored in all the Chinese histories, which happened prior to the Christian era, the usurper granted all the lands away to the partners of his

victories, leaving to the cultivators of the soil a small pittance only, out of the revenue which it yielded. Property in land also became hereditary; but in process of time the most considerable domains were subdivided into very moderate parcels by the successive distribution of the possessions of every father equally among all his sons: the daughters being always married without dower. It very rarely happened that there was but an only son to enjoy the whole property of his deceased parents; and it could scarcely be increased by collateral succession. For the habits of the country, as well as the dictates of nature, led most men there to marry early. It was reckoned a discredit to be without offspring. They who had none adopted those of others, who became their's exclusively. In case of marriage, should a wife prove barren, a second might be espoused in the lifetime of the first. The opulent were allowed, as in most parts of the East, to keep concubines without reproach. The children of such were considered as being those of the legitimate wife, towards whom they were bred in sentiments of duty and affection; and they partook in all the rights of legitimacy.

From the operations of all those causes, there was a constant tendency to level wealth; and few

could succeed to such an accumulation of it as to render them independent of any efforts of their own for its increase. Besides, wealth alone confers in China but little importance, and no power: nor is property, without office, always perfectly secure. There is no hereditary dignity, which might accompany, and give it pre-eminence and weight. The delegated authority of government often leans more heavily on the unprotected rich, than on the poor, who are less objects of temptation. And it is a common remark among the Chinese, that fortunes, either by being parcelled out to many heirs, or by being lost in commercial speculations, gaming, or extravagance, or extorted by oppressive mandarines, seldom continue to be considerable in the individuals of the same family beyond the third generation. To ascend again the ladder of ambition, it is necessary, by long and laborious study, to excel in the learning of the country, which alone qualifies for public employments.

There are properly but three classes of men in China. Men of letters, from whom the mandarines are taken; cultivators of the ground; and mechanics, including merchants. In Pekin alone is conferred the highest degree of literature upon those who, in public examinations, are found

most able in the sciences of morality and government, as taught in the ancient Chinese writers; with which studies, the history of their country, is intimately blended. Among such graduates all the civil offices in the state are distributed by the Emperor; and they compose all the great tribunals of the empire. The candidates for those degrees, are such as have succeeded in similar examinations in the principal city of each province. Those who have been chosen in the cities of the second order, or chief town of every district in the province, are the candidates in the provincial capital. They who fail in the first and second classes have still a claim on subordinate offices, proportioned to the class in which they had succeeded. Those examinations are carried on with great solemnity, and apparent fairness. Military rank is likewise given to those who are found, upon competition, to excel in the military art, and in warlike exercises.

The great tribunals are situate, for the sake of convenience, near the southern gate of the Imperial palace at Pekin. To them, accounts of all the transactions of the empire, are regularly transmitted. They are councils of reference from the Emperor, to whom they report every business of moment, with the motives for the advice

which they offer on the occasion. There is a body of doctrine composed from the writings of the earliest ages of the empire, confirmed by subsequent lawgivers and sovereigns, and transmitted from age to age with increasing veneration, which serves as rules to guide the judgment of those tribunals. This doctrine seems indeed founded on the broadest basis of universal justice, and on the purest principles of humanity.

His Imperial Majesty generally conforms to the suggestions of those tribunals. One tribunal is directed to consider the qualifications of the different mandarines for different offices, and to propose their removal when found incapable or unjust. One has for object, the preservation of the manners or morals of the empire, called by Europeans the tribunal of ceremonies, which it regulates on the maxim, that exterior forms contribute not a little to prevent the breach of moral rules. The most arduous and critical, is the tribunal of censors; taking into its consideration the effect of subsisting laws, the conduct of the other tribunals, of the princes and great officers of state, and even of the Emperor himself. There are several subordinate tribunals, such as those of mathematics, of medicine, of public works, of literature and history. The whole is a regular

and consistent system, established at a very early period, continued with little alterations thro every dynasty, and revived, after any interruption from the caprice or passions of particular princes. Whatever deviation has been made by the present family on the throne, arises from the admission of as many Tartars as Chinese into every tribunal. The opinions of the former are supposed always to preponderate. Many of them, indeed, are men of considerable talents, and strength of mind, as well as polished manners. The old viceroy of Pe-che-lee, is of a Tartar race.

The estimated population of Pekin was carried in the last century, by the Jesuit Grimaldi, as quoted by Gemelli Carreri, to sixteen millions. Another missionary reduces, at least that of the Tartar city, to one million and a quarter. According to the best information given to the Embassy, the whole was about three millions. The low houses of Pekin seem scarcely sufficient for so vast a population; but very little room is occupied by a Chinese family, at least in the middling and lower classes of life. In their houses there are no superfluous apartments. A Chinese dwelling is generally surrounded by a wall, six or seven feet high. Within this inclosure, a

whole family, of three generations, with all their respective wives and children, will frequently be found. One small room is made to serve for the individuals of each branch of the family, sleeping in different beds, divided only by mats hanging from the ceiling. One common room is used for eating.

The prevalence of this custom of retaining the several branches of a family under the same roof, is attended with important effects. It renders the younger temperate and orderly in their conduct, under the authority and example of the older; and it enables the whole to subsist, like soldiers in a mess, with more economy and advantage. Notwithstanding this arrangement, the labouring poor are reduced to the use of vegetable food, with a very rare and scanty relish of any animal substance; the price of labour being generally found to bear as small a propotion every where to the rate demanded for provisions, as the common people will consent to suffer.

The crowds of people at Pekin do not prevent it from being healthy. The Chinese live, indeed, much in the open air, increasing or diminishing the quantity of their apparel according to the weather. The atmosphere is dry, and does

not engender putrid disorders; and excesses productive of them seldom are committed.

Great order is preserved among such multitudes; and the commission of crimes is rare. Every tenth housekeeper, somewhat in the manner of the ancient tithing-men in England, is answerable for the conduct of the nine neighbouring families, as far as he may be supposed capable of controlling it. The police is observed with particular strictness within the walls. The city partakes of the regularity and interior safety of a camp; but is subject also to its constraints. In the suburbs only, public women are registered and licensed. They are not indeed very numerous, being proportioned to the small number of single men, and of husbands absent from their families to be found in the metropolis.

The early marriages of men in easy circumstances have been already mentioned. With the poor, marriage is a measure of prudence, because the children, particularly the sons, are bound to maintain their parents. Whatever is strongly recommended and generally practised, is at length considered as a kind of religious duty: and this union, as such, takes place when-

ever there is the least prospect of subsistence for a future family. That prospect, however, is not always realized; and children, born without means being had of providing for them, are sometimes abandoned by the wretched authors of their being. It must have been the most dire and absolute necessity which led to this unnatural and shocking act, when first it was committed. It was reconciled, afterwards, in some measure, to the mind, by superstition coming in aid to render it a holy offering to the spirit of the adjoining river, in which the infant was thrown, with a gourd suspended from its neck, to keep it from immediate drowning.

The philosophers of China, who have with equal ability and effect inculcated the maxims of filial piety, have left, in great measure, the parental affection to its own natural influence, which does not always maintain its empire as effectually as sentiments enforced by early and repeated precept. Thus, in China, parents are less frequently neglected than infants are exposed. The laws of the empire, to corroborate the disposition to filial obedience, furnish an opportunity for punishing any breach of it, by leaving a man's offspring entirely within his power; and habit seems to have familiarized a

notion that life, only, becomes truly precious, and inattention to it criminal, after it has continued long enough to be endowed with a mind and sentiment; but that mere dawning existence may be suffered to be lost without scruple, tho it cannot without reluctance.

Female infants are, for the most part, chosen as the less evil for this cruel sacrifice, because daughters are considered more properly to belong to the families into which they pass by marriage; while the sons continue the support and comfort of their own. Those infants are exposed immediately on the birth, and before the countenance is animated, or the features formed, to catch the affections rising in the parent's breast. A faint hope, at least, is generally entertained, that they may yet be preserved from untimely death, by the care of those who are appointed by the government to collect these miserable objects, for the purpose of providing for such as are found alive; and for burying those who already had expired.

The missionaries are likewise zealous in this humane work. They hasten also to baptize all who retain the smallest spark of life, in order, as they term it, to save the souls of those innocent beings. One of those pious fathers, who

was not inclined to exaggerate the evil, acknowledged, that in Pekin about two thousand were every year exposed, of whom a large proportion perished. The missionaries maintained as many as they could recover. These were carefully brought up in the strict principles and fervour of Christianity; and some of them proved to be useful co-adjutors in the conversion of their countrymen to the same faith.

The conversions took place chiefly among the poor, who every where compose the greatest number. The largesses bestowed by the missionaries as far as they were able, prepossessed in favour of the doctrines they promulgated. Some might conform in appearance, only for the sake of the charity they received; but their children became sincere Christians. The poor were also more accessible; and more struck by the disinterested zeal of foreigners coming from afar for their salvation.

It must have appeared a singular spectacle to every class of beholders, to see men actuated by motives different from those of most human actions, quitting for ever their country and their connections, to devote themselves for life to the purpose of changing the tenets of a people they had never seen: and in pursuing that object, to

run every risk, suffer every persecution, and sacrifice every comfort; insinuating themselves, by address, by talent, by perseverance, by humility, by application to studies foreign from their original education, or by the cultivation of arts to which they had not been bred, into notice and protection; overcoming the prejudice of being strangers in a country where most strangers were prohibited, and where it was a crime to have *abandoned the tombs of their ancestors*, and gaining at length, establishments necessary for the propagation of their faith, without turning their influence to any personal advantage.

The missionaries of different nations were allowed to build four convents, and churches annexed to them, in Pekin; and some of them within the boundaries of the Imperial palace. They have lands in the neighbourhood; and the society of Jesuits is asserted to have been proprietors of many houses in the city and suburbs, of which the revenues served, and served only, to promote the purposes of the mission. They often, by the same charitable acts, made proselytes, and relieved the distressed.

Most of the missionaries visited the Embassador at Pekin. One of them, a Portugueze of mild and conciliating manners, was at the same

time appointed chief of the Europeans in the tribunal of mathematics, by his Chinese Majesty, and bishop of Pekin, by his Holiness the Pope, at the recommendation of the Queen of Portugal. Regular, but small stipends were allowed for the maintenance of the missionaries, by the chief powers of Europe of the Roman catholic persuasion; and the former, in gratitude, as well as from national attachment, served in some degree, as agents for the countries, of which they respectively were natives, wherever the interests of those countries could be concerned. Differences of opinion had formerly divided the different societies of missionaries on particular points of doctrine, and some rivalship still perhaps subsisted between those from one kingdom of Europe, and the remainder; but in most instances, a common interest, and similarity of manners, contrasted with those of the Chinese, united them together. In that remote region, every European was greeted by them as a countryman, and became entitled to regard and service.

A missionary of a most respectable character, advantageously known in the literary world by many curious communications concerning China, where he had resided from an early period of his life, was grown at present so infirm as not

to be able to wait upon the Embassador; but he wrote a letter to him, expressive of the most fervent wishes for his success; offering every assistance that his observation and experience could supply; adding a picture of the court his Excellency was about to visit; where he encouraged him to hope that every object of his mission would finally be attained; but forewarning him of the difficulties and delays that were to be encountered at that court on every occasion; as no important purpose was to be effected there without considerable patience and reiterated efforts.

Beside the visits which the Embassador received from the missionaries, as well as from the Legate, and Chinese gentlemen who conducted the Embassy, his Excellency was visited every day during his residence at Pekin by mandarines of rank, some engaged to it by the duty of their stations, others allured by curiosity, and not a few by the European band of music, which formed a concert every evening in the Embassador's apartments. Among these visitors was the chief director of the Emperor's orchestra, who constantly attended, and was so much pleased with some of the instruments, that he desired leave to take drawings of them. He declined accepting them as presents; but sent for painters,

who spread the floor with sheets of large paper, and, having placed the clarionets, flutes, bassoons, and french horns upon them, traced with their pencils the figures of the instruments, measuring all the apertures, and noting the minutest particulars; and when this operation was completed, they wrote down their remarks, and delivered them to their employer, who said it was his intention to have similar instruments made by Chinese workmen, and to fit to them a scale of his own. A few Chinese had already, it seems, adopted the European violin; but it was not yet in common use. An instrument of their own, bearing a resemblance to it in form, had two strings only. Some Chinese have likewise learned to note their music upon ruled paper.

A number of persons went also to view the presents for the Emperor, left at Yuen-min-yuen. Several European and Chinese artificers had begun to take the separated parts of the machines and other articles out of the cases which contained them. Among the spectators were three of the Emperor's grandsons, who candidly expressed their admiration of what they saw. Some of the mandarines seemed to check any emotion of that kind, and affected to consider every object as a work of ordinary merit. All

eyes were, however, fixed on the vases, which were among the finest productions of the late Mr. Wedgwood's art. Of porcelain every Chinese is a judge. These specimens of the beauty of European manufacture were universally acknowledged and extolled.

Among the presents was a volume of portraits of the nobility of Great Britain. In order that the inspection of them should be more satisfactory to his Imperial Majesty, a mandarine attended to mark, in Chinese characters upon the margins, the names and rank of the persons represented. When the mandarine came to the print of an English duke, taken from a painting of his Grace when extremely young, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and was told that the original was a *Ta-zhin* (or great man) of very high rank, the mandarine had so little conception of a child's being qualified, by hereditary right, to be possessed of such a dignity, that he gave a look of surprise; and laying down his pencil, with which Chinese characters are drawn, exclaimed, that he could not venture to describe him in that manner; for the Emperor knew very well how to distinguish a great man from a little boy.

While the Embassador continued at Pekin some of the gentlemen had occasion often to pass

from thence to the Imperial palace in the country, and returning at different times thro different suburbs, gates, and streets, had opportunities of viewing most parts of the capital. His Excellency rode in an English carriage, drawn by four Tartar horses about twelve hands high, and conducted by postillions picked out among persons in his guard, who had followed that occupation formerly in England. It was a new spectacle to the Chinese, accustomed only to the low, clumsy, two-wheeled carriages, fixed without springs immediately to the shafts, and little better than common European carts. When a splendid chariot intended as a present for the Emperor was unpacked and put together, nothing could be more admired: but it was necessary to give directions for taking off the box; for when the mandarines found out that so elevated a seat was destined for the coachman who was to drive the horses, they expressed the utmost astonishment that it should be proposed to place any man in a situation *above* the Emperor. So easily is the delicacy of this people shocked in whatever relates to the person of their exalted sovereign.

The evening before the departure of the Embassy from Pekin, a mandarine of high rank waited upon his Excellency with a gracious message to him from the Emperor, inquiring about

his health, which he heard had been somewhat of late affected, and recommending to him to travel, as he usually did himself, by easy journies into Tartary; and that he and his suite should be accommodated at the palaces erected at several stations throughout the route where his Imperial Majesty stopped in his way to Zhe-hol.

The adjustment of the Planetarium could not be completed before the departure of the Embassador for Tartary; and Dr. Dinwiddie was left behind in order to inspect that nice and necessary work. Other gentlemen and attendants of the Embassy remained also on various accounts at Pekin or Yuen-min-yuen. Some were detained by indisposition: among the latter was one of the botanical gardeners. He had collected specimens of the many species of plants of the province of Pe-che-lee: a list of those which he preserved is added to this chapter, as not altogether uninteresting to a botanist.

Corispermum hyssopifolium.
—— another species.
Blitum.
Cyperus odoratus.
——— iria.
Scirpus.
Panicum ciliare.
——— crus corvi.
——— glaucum.
Poa.
Briza eragrostis.

Cynosurus indicus.
Arundo phragmites.
Lolium.
Rubia cordata.
Cuscuta.
Solanum melongena.
——— another species.
Lycium Chinense.
Rhamnus.
Euonymus.
Nerium oleander.
Asclepias sibirica.
Cynanchium.
Chenopodium aristatum.
——— scoparium.
——— viride.
——— glaucum.
Salsola altissima.
——— another species.
Tamarix.
Statice limonium.
Asparagus.
Hemerocallis japonica.
Polygonum aviculare.
Polygonum lapathifolium.
——— tinctorium.
——— persicaria.
Sophora japonica.
Tribulus terrestris.
Arenaria rubra.
Euphorbia cyparissias.
——— esula.
——— tithymaloides.
Potentilla.
Nymphæa nelumbo.
Leonurus sibiricus.
Antirrhinum.
Incurvillea.
Sesamum orientale.
Vitex negundo.
Lepidium latifolium.
Sisymbrium amphibium.
Cleome.
Erodium ciconium.
Sida.
Hibiscus trionum.
Dolichos hirsutus.
Hedysarum striatum.

Hedysarum, another species.
Astragalus, three species.
Trifolium melilotus.
Sonchus oleraceus.
Prenanthes.
Bidens pilosa.
—— another species.
Artemisia capillaris.
——— integrifolia.
Aster, two species.
Inula japonica.
Chrysanthemum.
Eclipta erecta.
——— prostrata.
Impatiens balsamina.
Typha latifolia.
Xanthium strumarium.
Amaranthus caudatus.
—— another species.
Acalypha.
Sterculia platanifolia.
Cucurbita citrullus.
Salix.
Cannabis sativa.
Juniperus barbadensis.
Andropogon ischæmum.
—— another species.
Holcus.
Cenchrus racemosus.
Rottboella.
Atriplex.
Ailanthus glandulosus.
Equisetum.
Matricaria.
Prunus armeniaca.
Avena.
Lonicera caprifolium.
Sempervivum tectorum.
Malva, several species.
Melissa.
Apium.
Corylus avellana.
Thlaspi.
Brassica.
Pinus.
Fraxinus.
Morus.

CHAPTER V.

JOURNEY TO THE NORTHERN FRONTIER OF CHINA. VIEW OF THE GREAT WALL.

THE Embassador, attended by the usual number of Chinese, and most of his European suite, set out from Pekin on the second of September, 1793. The plain in which that capital is situate extends a considerable way to the north and east. To the left, or westward, the hills began to rise at a little distance; but to the right, for many miles, there was a perfect level to the sea, or gulf of Pe-che-lee, which seemed to have retreated from the base of the mountains it originally had bathed. Rows of the rough-barked willow, (salix fragilis,) growing to a vast size, shaded the road passing over this plain. It appeared to be the tree best adapted to the soil.

In this part of the journey his Excellency travelled in his European carriage; and it was probably for the first time that an English post-chaise rolled upon the route to Tartary. The

Embassador took occasionally some of the mandarines into the chaise with him. At first they were somewhat startled, lest the carriage, which was hung high, and seemed to them to totter, should overturn; but being assured of its perfect safety, they became inexpressibly delighted with its easiness, lightness, and rapidity; the ingenuity of the springs, and of the various contrivances for raising and lowering the glasses and curtains, and for increasing or diminishing at pleasure the openings of the Venetian blinds.

The soil adjoining to this flat road was in the first part of it, like that on the other side of Pekin, a rich loam, highly cultivated, and bearing generally the same produce; but one field, in which a species of the polygonum seemed to have been planted by design, as was judged from the regularity of its growth, attracted more particularly the attention of the strangers. They were informed that its leaves, macerated and prepared like those of the indigo plant, produced, likewise, a dye of a blue colour, equal, or at least approaching to that of indigo. It may be desirable to make, in climates which, like that of Pekin, will not produce the Indigofera, the experiment, how far the dye to be manufactured from this polygonum may be substituted to advantage, for that which

the indigo plant affords. A small species of the Colutea was at the same time mentioned, as producing from the buds and tender leaves, a substance, which gives a dye of a green colour.

There is scarcely a vegetable growing in China, of which the different uses in the economy of life, have not been found out by trials, or accidentally observed in the succession of ages, by the natives, so as to have enabled them to have succedanea among themselves, for the articles which, otherwise, would be necessary to procure from other countries. Thus, for example, they use the seeds of a species of the fagara, by way of pepper. They extract an excellent oil from the kernels of the apricot in lieu of olives; but for more common purposes from the seeds of sesamum, of hemp, of cotton, of turnip, of a species of mint, and of a variety of others. There cannot, indeed, be said to be a useless weed in China. They manufacture cloth from the fibres of a dead nettle; and paper from the bark of different vegetables, from the fibres of the hemp, from the straw of rice. A species of cultivated momordica serves for cucumber. A carduus is occasionally eaten as a relish with rice. The shepherd's purse is to be found sometimes in their salads. They draw from the carthamus their finest red; very

seldom using carmine. The cup of the acorn serves them to dye black; and the leaves of an ash are made to answer for those of the mulberry in the rearing of silk-worms.

On these plains, besides different species of the willow, few trees were found, except poplars planted round burying places; and ash and mulberry trees thinly scattered throughout the plain. That willow which is distinguished by its pendent branches and leaves, adorned the banks of streams: one of these was observed fifteen feet in girth, as measured at a man's height above the root. A river was crossed early in the first day's journey, narrow, indeed, but deep enough to be navigated by small boats, of which a considerable number was seen upon it. The course of it, as of all the others in this tract, was to the south and east. Goods come frequently down these rivers from the confines of Tartary; others are carried to and from it on the backs chiefly of dromedaries, or double humped camels; animals esteemed to be stouter, stronger, and swifter than the camel with a single hump. The former, or dromedary, is likewise more plentifully covered with hair than the latter, and better adapted for cold climates. Such were loaded often with furs, the richest produce of Tartary;

but it is found worth while to employ them also in conveying from thence articles of much less value. Even charcoal is brought upon their backs to Pekin, it being the chief fuel used there in the preparation of food. The sheep seen grazing on the plains, were of that kind which have very short but thick fleshy tails, weighing several pounds, and highly prized by Chinese epicures.

About twenty miles from the capital the country towards Tartary began to rise; the soil changed likewise, and became more sandy as it ascended, while the clay and black mold sensibly decreased. A few miles further on the travellers stopped for the day, at one of those palaces built for the convenience of the Emperor, which are mentioned towards the end of the last chapter. It stood upon an irregular surface near the base of a gentle hill, which, with a part of the vale below, was inclosed, and divided into a park and pleasure grounds, with a very pleasing effect. Trees were here thickly interspersed, but permitted a view thro them of a stream running at a little distance. Beyond it, the rising hills were some of them planted, and some left naked. The different objects seemed in their natural state, and as if assembled here only by a fortunate chance.

A Chinese gardener is the painter of nature; consulting which, he contrives, without rule or science, to unite simplicity and beauty.

A little way beyond the palace the hills approached each other, and formed a pass about a mile in width. In their neighbourhood were some mineral springs, called the Emperor's baths; either from having been fitted up at his expence, or from having been used by some of the Imperial family; or because he is the general owner of every thing not particularly appropriated.

Beyond the pass an extensive plain opened, on which were several villages, two walled towns of the second order, and another Imperial palace. In the pleasure grounds about this palace were perceived some traces of a white substance like chalk coming, in technical language, *to the day*.

In such parts of the islands of Africa, of the continent of America, of the Southern Islands, and of the Asiatic continent, as had been already visited by the present travellers, in the course of this expedition, they did not, since they quitted England, once meet before with what is so common there, a chalky appearance; or any flint in the shape of nodules, like knots in timber, but which are arranged generally in a horizontal

line in beds of chalk. The calcareous substances of any kind which were seen by them in that long tract, bore but a very small proportion to the produce of volcanic fire, or masses of granite, which presented themselves so frequently throughout the route. Of these the first was not observable, and the second was rare, in England; as they were likewise in the present route to Tartary, where those English travellers began to perceive several mineralogical resemblances to their own country.

Most of the hills, however, passed by in the second day's journey had something peculiar in their form and position; each standing on its own basis, and rising singly from the plain, in which they were scattered about without order. They appeared to affect smooth surfaces separated by angles, but rounded or shortened in the lapse of time, and yet retaining so much of regular forms as to excite the fancy of comparing those masses to gigantic crystallizations.

In the low grounds in this part of the country great quantities of tobacco are planted. Its smoke is inhaled through bamboo tubes by the Chinese; and the practice is, perhaps, more prevalent amongst them, than in any other country, as it extends to persons of both sexes, and to those

of a very tender age. Girls not more than ten years old, or younger, coming from the houses near the road out of curiosity to see the strangers pass, were observed to have long pipes constantly in their mouths.

This plant is supposed, in Europe, to have been introduced from America, to every part of the ancient continent. There is, however, no traditional account of such introduction into China, or even, as is asserted, into India, where it is likewise cultivated and used in vast abundance. In neither country are foreign usages suddenly adopted. It is possible, that, like the gin-seng, it may be naturally found in particular spots, both in the old and new world.

Tobacco is taken in powder likewise by the Chinese. A mandarine is seldom without a small ornamented phial to hold his snuff, of which he occasionally pours a quantity, equal to a pinch, upon the back of his left hand, between the thumb and index, which approaching to his nose he snuffs up several times a day. It is not the only substance which is used in China to gratify this artificial appetite. Powdered cinnabar is often employed for the same purpose; as opium and odorous ingredients are for smoking.

It was now the season for curing tobacco. This operation was performed mostly in the open air.

Tho many buildings are deemed necessary for the manufacture of that article in the West Indies, yet here scarcely any were required, there being little apprehension of rain to injure the tobacco leaves when plucked. They were hung on cords to dry, without any shelter, upon the spot in which they grew. Each owner and his family were sufficient to take care of his own produce. These circumstances serve to indicate the nature of the climate little subject to moisture, and the general division of property into minute parcels. There are, indeed, in this part of China, some lands granted to Tartar families, on the condition of feudal or military services, and which generally descend to the eldest son; but there are not many such; and none of them are said to be very considerable.

In the third day's journey, the population seemed somewhat to diminish. The road passed through a small town, surrounded by a wall, but without cannon, which indeed were deemed unnecessary, as no enemy possessed of artillery was to be apprehended; the chief uses, therefore, of those ramparts were for securing the tribute and

taxes that had been collected in the neighbouring districts, in their passage to the capital; for the protection of the public granaries, and for the safety of the prisons. Troops were garrisoned here for those purposes; and many were likewise employed in the reparation of the roads. These were in some places so steep and rough, that it was necessary to haul the Embassador's wheel-carriage empty over them: his Excellency travelling in the mean time in a palanquin. The scenery hereabouts was pleasing and romantic. Wild goats, and wild horses were seen scampering along the hills; and men ascending precipices, to find out spots fit for cultivation. †

"The mountains," as Dr. Gillan remarked, "sloped, in general, backwards from the sea towards Tartary, falling abruptly on the opposite side, there presenting often the naked rock, and resembling what are called in Switzerland, *les Aiguilles des Alpes*. The various strata of the mountains appeared in the following order; first stratum, seen low down in the deepest parts of the beds of the river, where the water had left them, was of sand and sandstone; second, above the sand and sandstone was coarse grained limestone, full of nodules, and of a blue colour; third, above

"second stratum lay an irregular and very thick "layer of indurated clay, of a bluish, and some- "times of a brown-red colour, communicated to "it by calx of iron; in some places this calx "was so abundant as to give the clay the ap- "pearance of ochre; and in others, the last "stratum only could be perceived. In many "parts of the neighbourhood of Tartary were "perpendicular veins of white spar, and some- "times blue and white. On the top of the "highest mountains, on both sides of the road, "were large masses of granite, but none so low "down as where the road was traced."

At the bottom of some of those eminences ran a river to the southward, over which a bridge was thrown upon caissoons of wattles, filled with stones. Such bridges are common in this part of the country, where they are erected with expedition, and at little expence; and where the most solid fabric might not long resist the torrents tumbling suddenly from the impending precipices. The caissoons are of different dimensions, according to the spread of the flood. They are fixed by perpendicular spars, in number and strength proportioned to the depth of the river, and the rapidity of the current. In broad and navigable streams the caissoon work is dis-

continued in the middle; and large flat-bottomed boats are substituted. Over the whole are laid planks, hurdles, and gravel. When the Emperor is expected, temporary bridges are constructed, lest the others should fail in consequence of the extraordinary crowd, and the heavy loads passing upon them on such occasions.

In the progress of the journey and approach towards Tartary, the number of Tartars inhabiting the towns and villages on the road seemed to be nearly equal to that of the Chinese; and the difference between the characters and manners of those two nations became less striking. In general the former appeared to be of a more robust make, with less expression in their countenance, and less courtesy in their manners, than the latter. The Tartar women were distinguished chiefly by having feet of a natural size. The head-dress of both consisted in natural or artificial flowers placed on each side of the head, above the ears. No woman is so poor, as to neglect, or so aged, as to give up adorning herself in this manner. The culture of flowers for this purpose is a regular occupation throughout the country. By long practice, and a variety of experiments, the Chinese gardeners have discovered methods of improving the beauty, size,

and fragrance of many of their flowers; such as the anemone, the peony, the matricaria, and several others; some have been introduced, as the tuberose, for example, by the missionaries from Europe.

The influence of the looser manners of the Tartars, occasioned already upon this road, as upon those of Europe, the appearance of beggars, silently claiming, by their squalid looks, and by the exposure of some natural or accidental blemish, the commiseration and charity of passengers.

Up the sides of distant mountains was descried, in the morning of the fourth day's journey, a prominent line, or narrow and unequal mark, such as appear to be formed sometimes, but more irregularly, by the veins of quartz when viewed from afar in the sides of the mountains of Gneiss, in Scotland. The continuance of this line to the Tartarian mountains' tops, was sufficient to arrest the attention of the beholder; and the form of a wall with battlements was, in a little time, distinctly discerned, where such buildings were not expected to be found, nor thought practicable to be erected. What the eye could, from a single spot, embrace of those fortified walls, carried along the ridges of hills, over the tops of the highest

mountains, descending into the deepest vallies, crossing upon arches over rivers, and doubled and trebled in many parts to take in important passes, and interspersed with towers or massy bastions at almost every hundred yards, as far as the sight could reach, presented to the mind an undertaking of stupendous magnitude. The travellers were now able to determine, from their own feelings, that it was not alone the dimensions of those walls, however considerable, that made the impression of wonder upon the persons who had hitherto seen these intended barriers against the Tartars. Astonishment seldom is excited by the mere effect of the continuance or multiplication of labour, that may be performed by common means. It was the extreme difficulty of conceiving how the materials could be conveyed, and such structures raised, in situations apparently inaccessible, which principally occasioned surprise and admiration. One of the most elevated ridges over which the great wall is carried has been ascertained to measure five thousand two hundred and twenty-five feet.

This species of fortification, for to call it simply by the name of wall does not convey an adequate idea of such a fabric, is described to extend, tho not equally perfected throughout, in a

course of fifteen hundred miles; for of that length was the boundary line between the civilized Chinese, and several restless Tartar tribes. Upon such barriers, indeed, was not supposed to depend the fate of nations in actual war. A superior army is always found to overcome every species of defence; no fortification is impregnable; fortresses, however, delay the progress of an enemy. They preserve a country from being surprised by a sudden invasion; and fortified walls protracted along a boundary line, serve as a protection against sudden and unexpected inroads, or the partial attacks of individual plunderers in the midst of peace. Thus the Romans, though brave and warlike, erected several such barriers in Britain, against the uncivilized Picts. Whenever a nation, in such an advanced state of society as to be engaged in the cultivation of the soil, has happened to be in the neighbourhood of a people of mere hunters, who may be considered as partaking, themselves, of the nature of beasts of prey, the former has frequently had recourse to the erection of strong ramparts against the perpetual devastations of the latter. Several were raised for this purpose in Egypt, in Syria, in Media; one to the eastward of the Caspian sea, by a successor of Alexander, and another in

the country of Tamerlane; the two last intended, like the Chinese wall, against hordes of roving Tartars. It is probable that most of these answered for a time the end for which they were erected; and perhaps until the circumstances which called for such a separation between neighbouring states had themselves ceased to exist. The memory of them is preserved among the greatest monuments of human enterprize; yet all of them united, whether they be considered as to the extent of the country over which they were carried, and which they were meant to protect, or as to the quantity of materials employed in their construction, or the labour and ingenuity requisite to overcome the difficulties of situation, were not equal to the Chinese wall alone. It has likewise far exceeded them in duration, as well as in solidity. Many of the inner and weaker appendages to this great rampart have indeed yielded to the effects of time, and are mouldering to decay; and others have undergone repair; but the main work seems in most places to have been built with a degree of care and architectural skill, which, without any subsequent attention or addition, have preserved it entire for about two thousand years; and it appears almost as little liable to injury as the rocky and mountainous

bulwarks which nature itself had raised between Tartary and China.

The period of the first erection of any artificial barrier between those two countries is not particularly ascertained; but that of its completion is an historical fact as authentic as any of those which the annals of ancient kingdoms have transmitted to posterity. From that period, about three centuries before the Christian era, the transactions of the Chinese empire have been regularly, and without any intervening chasm, recorded, both in official documents, and by private contemporary writers. No where had history become so much an object of public attention, and no where more the occupation of learned individuals. Every considerable town throughout the empire was a kind of university, in which degrees were conferred on the proficient in the history and government of the state. Historical works were multiplied throughout. The accounts of recent events were exposed to the correction of the witnesses of the facts; and compilations of former transactions to the criticisms of rival writers. Under all these circumstances little doubt can be entertained concerning the epoch of an undertaking to which hundreds of thousands must have concurred; which is mentioned in

the histories of the times, and repeated, or alluded to, in those of every subsequent period. Historical evidence, indeed, depends, in the first instance, upon the personal credit given to the assertions of contemporary writers; and upon their consistency with public records, monuments, and other facts and circumstances within the knowledge or observation of the reader. Such creditable writer vouches, upon the same grounds, for the veracity of those who immediately preceded him; and thus facts are traced by induction, strictly and critically pursued, in a retrograde scale, as far as it can be carried by regular links, to the most remote transactions, in the truth of which any confidence is to be placed. It is upon such induction that is founded the belief of events removed from the immediate cognizance of the senses. There seems to be no other grounds for the certainty of the existence, for example, of the Roman commonwealth, or of the battle of Actium, or of the invasion of England by the Norman Conqueror.

Of the twenty centuries which the Chinese wall appears with equal certainty to have subsisted, it was, during sixteen of them, found effectual in excluding the Tartar hordes, until the mighty torrent of Gengis-Kan's power ren-

dered every resistance vain: a power, however, which falling from the hands of his descendants in less than a single century, the Tartars were expelled and kept out of China near three hundred years, till in the last age, in the violence of internal rebellion, they were invited back to that country, where they have ever since maintained the empire in a tranquil and flourishing state.

Beside the means of defence which the great wall furnished in time of war, it was considered as an advantage by the Chinese, whose regulated manners and settled mode of life little accorded with the roving and restless disposition of their northern neighbours, that even in times of peace it impeded the communication between them; nor was it without its use in keeping out from the fertile provinces of China the numerous and ferocious beasts that haunt the wilds of Tartary. It served, likewise, as well to fix the boundary between the two countries, and contributed to prevent the escape of malefactors out of China, or the emigration of malecontents.

Till the establishment of the present dynasty, few projects of foreign conquests appear to have been entertained in China; and it is still there a favourite point of policy to confine its subjects within the limits of the empire. They who

depart from it without licence are liable to severe punishments on their return.

The importance, however, of the great wall of China has in great measure ceased, since the territories on each side of it have been subjected to the same monarch. The Chinese, with whom curiosity vanishes with the novelty of the object, look upon it now with perfect indifference; and few of the mandarines who accompanied the Embassy, seemed to pay the least attention to it. Yet the appearance of so vast a monument of human industry has not failed to attract the notice of those foreigners who have crossed it on their entrance into China. The first European who published any account of that empire, Marco Polo, has made, however, no mention of the wall; tho, as he travelled over land to the capital of China, it was presumed that he must have passed to it through Tartary in some spot where the wall now stands. From such silence some doubts have arisen in the mind of a learned Italian, who has in contemplation to publish a new edition of Marco Polo's Travels, whether the wall was really in existence in the thirteenth century, when that celebrated Venetian went to the court of the Tartar sovereign of China. But the mere omission of that fact by him, could not

be made to weigh against the existence of it, when supported by the same species of positive testimony, which is thought decisive in all other instances, were it even to be supposed that Marco Polo had actually passed over the ground where the wall subsists at present; and had given to the world a regular account of his travels immediately on his return, instead of the unconnected fragments which he dictated long afterwards, at a distance from his own home, and separated, as he was probably, from the notes taken on the spot, and other his original papers. A copy, however, of Marco Polo's route to China, taken from the Doge's library at Venice, is sufficient to decide this question. By this route it appears that, in fact, that traveller did not pass through Tartary to Pekin; but that after having followed the usual track of the caravans, as far to the eastward from Europe as Samarcand and Cashgar, he bent his course to the south-east across the river Ganges to Bengal; and, keeping to the southward of the Thibet mountains, reached the Chinese province of Shensee, and through the adjoining province of Shansee, to the capital, without interfering with the line of the great wall.

The present travellers approached the wall by

a steep ascent, until they came to what was called the southern gate, in reference to an outer one more northerly, on the side of Tartary. This southern gate was thrown across the road, where it passed over the summit of a range of hills, in most parts inaccessible. It was built for the defence of the pass in a very strong situation, the ridge of the hills being narrow, and its descent steep. The road ran near it through a defile, at the extremity of which was a military post.

Captain Parish observes, "that military posts "are usually square towers of various dimen- "sions, at which a few men are constantly "quartered. It is probable, that in the event of "war, they would become the rendezvous of the "troops in the neighbourhood. They are situate "at the entrance of passes, or on eminences dif- "ficult of access, or on the narrow passages of "rivers. They vary from about forty feet square "and as many in height, to so low as four feet "square and six feet high. There are few in- "deed so very small as the last dimensions indi- "cate. One, however, of this description, was "met on the road from Pekin to this place. The "larger towers are entered by a flight of steps, "usually completed by loose stones, which lead "to a small arch at about half the height of the

" tower from the base. The platform only ap-
" pears to be intended for defence, as there are
" very rarely ports to be discovered in the sides.
" In the parapets of the platforms, battlements
" are constructed. The towers are most fre-
" quently solid, except when of the largest
" size. On the top of the tower a building
" is discoverable from below, that appears suffi-
" cient to contain its little garrison. At one end
" of this is a flag-staff, on which a yellow stand-
" ard is hoisted. Its walls are sometimes painted
" and ornamented with a party-coloured dragon.
" Near the tower is generally a hut, and in front
" a red stand, on which a few spears and mus-
" quets are displayed. This hut is occupied as a
" guard-house or barrack. Near each post is a
" pai-loo, or triumphal gateway, slightly con-
" structed of wood, stained black, white, and red.
" Close to it are three, four, five, or six elevations
" of masonry, with the figures of dragons also
" traced upon them. These formerly contained
" a composition of combustible matter, and were
" used to convey intelligence by signals; but
" it is said that they are now become merely
" ornamental. They differ in their form, some
" of them being elliptical, some hemispherical,
" and others conical, on cubic bases.

"From six to fifteen men turned out at these "posts as the Embassy passed by them. They "were usually without arms. A man from the "top of the tower beat upon a *loo*, whilst another "fired a salute from three small chambers of "iron placed vertically in the ground. Those "posts are at various distances from each other. "Along the river Pei-ho, from its entrance to "Tong-choo-foo, there were about fifteen, ex-"clusive of those at Toong-coo and Tien-sing; "nearly one to every thirteen miles; but on the "road from Pekin towards Tartary, there is "one to about every five miles."

From the last military post the road led thro a narrow valley watered by a clear winding stream. The hills gradually approaching, left little more than room for the road and river. Across the former, a tower was erected with a gateway in the centre, and an arch thrown over the latter. The pass had formerly been closed by walls extending from the tower up the hills on each side to the east and west; but they are now in ruins. This passage, when the Tartars were considered in the light of enemies, was defended by troops stationed in this place; and the remains of works and dwelling-houses, are still found there, with a few inhabitants.

After passing another gate nearer to the old Tartar boundary, and going through a perpendicular defile, formed by high and massy walls, the travellers arrived at Koo-pe-koo, which was the residence of the strong garrison placed for the defence of the outer wall in this part of it. It was inclosed by concentric works, united with the main wall. Military honours were paid to the Embassador on his arrival at this northern boundary of China proper. "The troops were "drawn up," as Captain Parish remarked, "in "two lines, facing inwards. They were formed "by companies, each of which had its leader, "its standard, and five camp-colours. In enter- "ing the lane formed by the two lines, there "were mandarines on each side; then music, "tents, and trumpets, pai-loos or triumphal "gates, twelve companies in succession on each "side; and lastly, about ten small field-pieces "of various forms and constructions. The pa- "rade of the companies were each as follows:

	"The leader usually a bowman,	
	"The standards,	
"one sword,	five small colours,	one sword,
and	matchlocks and swordmen,	and
"swordmen,	in numbers nearly equal,	swordmen,
"five deep.	"five deep.	five deep.

"The number of the whole amounted to twelve

"hundred. The interval between the compa-
"nies, nearly equalled the extent of their front,
"which was about seven yards."

Near to Koo-pe-koo, were some breaches in a part of the great wall, which afforded an easy opportunity of ascending and examining it; and this neglect of it, seemed sufficiently to guarantee the strangers from any jealousy or imputation of indiscretion, in consequence of indulging a curiosity, which the fame of this once important barrier had long excited in their minds. All the gentlemen of the Embassy went to visit it; but Captain Parish was particularly attentive to its construction and dimensions. "The body of
"the great wall," he observed, "was an elevation
"of earth, retained on each side by a wall of ma-
"sonry, and terraced by a platform of square
"bricks. The retaining walls, continued above
"its platform, form its parapets. Its dimen-
"sions, independently of fractional parts, were
"as follow:

	Feet.	Inch.
"Height of the brick work to the "bottom of the cordon	20	0
"From the bottom of the cordon to "the top of the parapet -	5	0
"Total height of the brick wall	25	0

"The brick wall is placed upon a basis of "stone, projecting about two feet beyond the "brick work, and of which the height is irre- "gular, owing to the irregularity of the ground "over which it runs; but not more than two "courses appear above the sod, amounting to "somewhat above two feet.

	Feet.	Inch.
"Thickness of each parapet wall at		
"top - -	1	6
"At the cordon - -	2	3
"Depth of the cordon -	0	6
"Projection of the cordon -	0	6
"Thickness of each retaining wall		
"where it rests upon the stone		
"base - - -	5	0

"The bottom of the cordon is upon a level "with the terrepleine of the wall.

"Entire thickness of the wall, including the "elevation of earth, which is eleven feet thick "in every part of it;

	Feet.	Inch.
"At the cordon - -	15	6
"At the bottom of the brick work	21	0
"Thickness of the stone base	25	0

"There is, in many parts, a small ditch be- "yond the stone foundation of the wall.

	Feet.	Inch.
" In relation to the embrasures, the " height of the merlons is	2	0
" Width of the embrasures within " and without - -	2	0
" Distance between them, from " centre to centre - -	9	0
" As to the loopholes.		
" Height of the opening -	1	0
" Width of the opening -	0	10
" Depth of the scarp - -	4	0
" Distance between two -	9	0

" The bottom of the loopholes is on a level " with the terrepleine of the wall; and from " thence they are sloped downwards, so as to " discover an enemy within a few yards of the " basis of the wall. It will perhaps be thought, " that this position is much better calculated for " the use of fire arms, than for that of bows and " arrows.

" The towers incorporated with the great " wall are distant from each other about one " hundred yards; but as the plan of the wall is " a curve line, this distance estimated by that " line is variously, and sometimes considerably " increased; when greater strength was requir- " ed, they are sometimes more frequent. Their

" dimensions and constructions, and the posi-
" tions they hold with respect to the wall, vary
" also considerably with their situations. The
" first of those which was examined consisted of
" one story upon a level with the terrepleine of
" the wall; and above this, a parapet nearly
" similar to that of the wall. It had three em-
" brasures or ports below in each front, and two
" in each front of the parapet of its platform.
" Its dimensions were as follow:

	Feet.	Inch.
" Length of each side of the square		
" at the base - -	40	0
" Length of each side at the top	30	0
" Height of its stone base -	4	0
" Height of the brick wall from the		
" stone base to the cordon	28	4
" From the cordon to the top of the		
" parapet - -	5	0
" Total height of the tower	37	4
" Width of the lower embrasures		
" or ports - - -	3	0
" Their height - -	3	0

" The embrasures of the parapet were of the
" same dimensions as those of the wall.

" This tower projects eighteen feet beyond
" the wall, towards Tartary. At the base it is

" entered off the platform of the wall by one " of its ports, which is cut away a little for this " purpose.

" The second tower which was examined dif- " fered materially from the first, as to its form, " dimensions, and situation. It consisted of " two stories, beside its platform. The lower " story was on a level with the terrepleine of the " wall. It was a square and almost solid mass " of stone, intersected with arched passages, in " the form of a cross, at each extremity of " which was a window or large port in the " centre of each side of the square. By two of " these it communicated with the terrepleine of " the wall on each side; thus this tower offers " two flanks to the wall. Midway between the " entrance and the centre of the cross is a nar- " row staircase, at right angles to the direction " of the wall, which communicates with the " second story. This may be said to contain " but one room, formed by three parallel arches, " in a direction perpendicular to the entrance, " having three arched intervals of communica- " tion between each. Those in the centre are " in a line which bisects the building, and are " in the direction of the wall; the others are in " lines parallel to this on each side. Thus a

"square room is formed, consisting of three "equal arches, parallel to each other, and three "lines of arches of communication, leaving "four square piers of masonry about the centre. "The extremities of each parallel arch are pier- "ced for ports or embrasures, three of which "face the wall on each side; the centre ports "facing the wall enfilade the terrepleine on each "side of the tower; the others flank the sides "of the wall in each direction. The ports in "the other faces of the tower look to the north "and south. In the parapet of the platform "are twelve embrasures, three in each front, "with a loophole in each interval. Thus each "front in this tower presents on the lower story "one port, on the second story three ports; on "the platform three embrasures and five loop- "holes. It owes probably the superior strength "of its construction to its vicinity to the river, "and short distance from the outer gate. On "this latter account it is that the tower is parti- "cularly strengthened on each side of the wall, "defending it on one side towards the river; "and should this be forced, protecting on the "other side the entrance of the gate. The di- "mensions of this second tower were as fol- "low:

	Feet.	Inch.
" Height of the stone base -	4	0
" Floor of the first story -	16	0
" Height of the arch of the first story	8	0
" Thickness of the arch -	1	3
" Thickness of the flooring of the " second story - -	0	4
" Height of the parallel arches	12	0
" Thickness of the parallel arches	1	3
" Thickness of the flooring of the " platform - -	0	4
" Height of the parapet of the platform	5	0
" Total height of the tower	48	2
" Length of each side of the square " at top - - -	36	0
" Length of each side of the square " at the base - -	42	0
" Dimensions of the lower story.		
" Width of the intersecting arches	3	0
" Length of the intersecting arches	33	0
" Height of the arches -	8	0
" Width of ports or embrasures	2	0
" Height of the same -	4	0
" Height of the cut for doors -	5	0
" The embrasures are arched at the top.		
" Width of the opening for staircase	2	0
" Height of the opening -	4	0

	Feet.	Inch.
" Dimensions of the second story.		
" Length of each side of the room	28	9
" Width of the parallel arches	6	0
" Length of the same - -	28	0
" Height of the same - -	12	0
" Interval between the parallel arches	5	0
" Width of arches of communication	5	7
" Length of the same - -	5	0
" Height of the same - -	8	0
" Length of the piers of masonry	5	7
" Breadth of the piers - -	5	0
" Width of recess for embrasures	4	0
" Depth of recess - - -	2	6
" Height of recess - - -	8	0
" Width of the embrasures -	2	0
" Height of the embrasures -	4	0

" The dimensions of the parapets, embra-
" sures, and loopholes, are as in the first tower.

" The embrasures or ports in each of the
" rooms, and the recesses for those of the second
" story, are all arched.

" The coins of the doors, windows, ports,
" embrasures, and many of the salient angles
" and staircases in the towers, as well as the
" broad bases or stone foundations of the towers

" and intervening wall, are of a strong grey " granite, with little mixture of mica in it.

" The rest of those buildings consist of bricks " of a bluish colour. They are laid in laminæ " of a brick thick each; forming, as it were, so " many distinct walls as there are bricks in thick- " ness. They differ in their dimensions ac- " cording to the situations in which they are " placed. Those in the front of the wall and " towers, are as follow:

	Feet.	Inch.
" Thickness of the bricks -	0	$3\frac{3}{4}$
" Width of the same - -	0	$7\frac{1}{2}$
" Length - - - -	1	3

" Those for the terraces of the wall and " towers, differ only from the former in being " perfectly square, each side containing fifteen " inches. Wherever, for finishing the taper- " ing tops of the parapets, bricks of the usual " dimensions would not answer, instead of " rudely chipping off these to the form required, " as has been sometimes directed by negligent or " ignorant artists, care was taken to mould other " bricks purposely of the form and size propor- " tioned to each separate use. The cement or " mortar between the different layers of brick, " was upwards of half an inch in thickness,

" and had a very small proportion of any in-
" gredient in it, to alter the perfect whiteness of
" the calcined limestone.

" The blue colour of the bricks, led to doubt
" whether they had been exposed to any greater
" than the sun's common heat, tho they had so
" long resisted the influence of time and weather.
" It has been ascertained by experiment, that a
" mass of clay or brick contracts in its dimen-
" sions when exposed to the action of fire: and
" that this contraction is increased in proportion
" as the heat augments; but that the mass does
" not return to its former dimensions after being
" withdrawn from the fire. Had the bricks,
" used for the great wall, being baked only in
" the sun, they would contract when exposed to
" a wood fire or red heat; but which, on trial,
" turned out not to be the case. Indeed some of
" the kilns still subsist near the great wall, where
" probably the bricks, of which it is composed,
" were burned.

" The great wall does not appear to have been
" intended as a defence against cannon, since
" the parapets are insufficient to resist the force
" of cannon shot. But the soles of the embra-
" sures of the towers, were observed to have
" been pierced with small holes, similar to those

"used in Europe for the reception of the swi-
"vels of wall-pieces. The holes appear to be
"a part of the original construction of the wall:
"and it seems difficult to assign them any other
"purpose, than that of resistance to the recoil
"of fire-arms. The field-pieces seen in China
"are generally mounted with swivels, for which
"these holes are well calculated; and tho the pa-
"rapets are not capable of resisting cannon shot,
"they are sufficiently strong to withstand these
"small pieces. Several of them were observed
"on the parade of the troops at Koo-pe-koo.
"They were mounted upon stands, on which
"they traversed with swivels. From these con-
"siderations, it does not seem unlikely, that
"the claim of the Chinese to a very early know-
"ledge of the effects of gunpowder, is not with-
"out foundation."

From the detail into which Captain Parish has entered with so much care, an accurate idea may be formed of the state of architecture, and mode of defence among the Chinese prior to the Christian era. And a general consideration of this barrier, evinces the resolution and comprehensive views of that government, which could embark in so vast an undertaking; the advanced state of society, which could supply the resources,

and regulate the progress of such a work; and the vigour and perseverance with which it was carried to perfection.

The line it has traced, continues still to be considered as a demarkation between the respective nations of Chinese and Tartars. Tho, since their union, under one absolute dominion, the word of the monarch alone, is followed at once with implicit obedience on the part of all his subjects indiscriminately, yet each people still retains ideas of local claims and jurisdictions.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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